NEW TIMES

December 17 – 23, 1991

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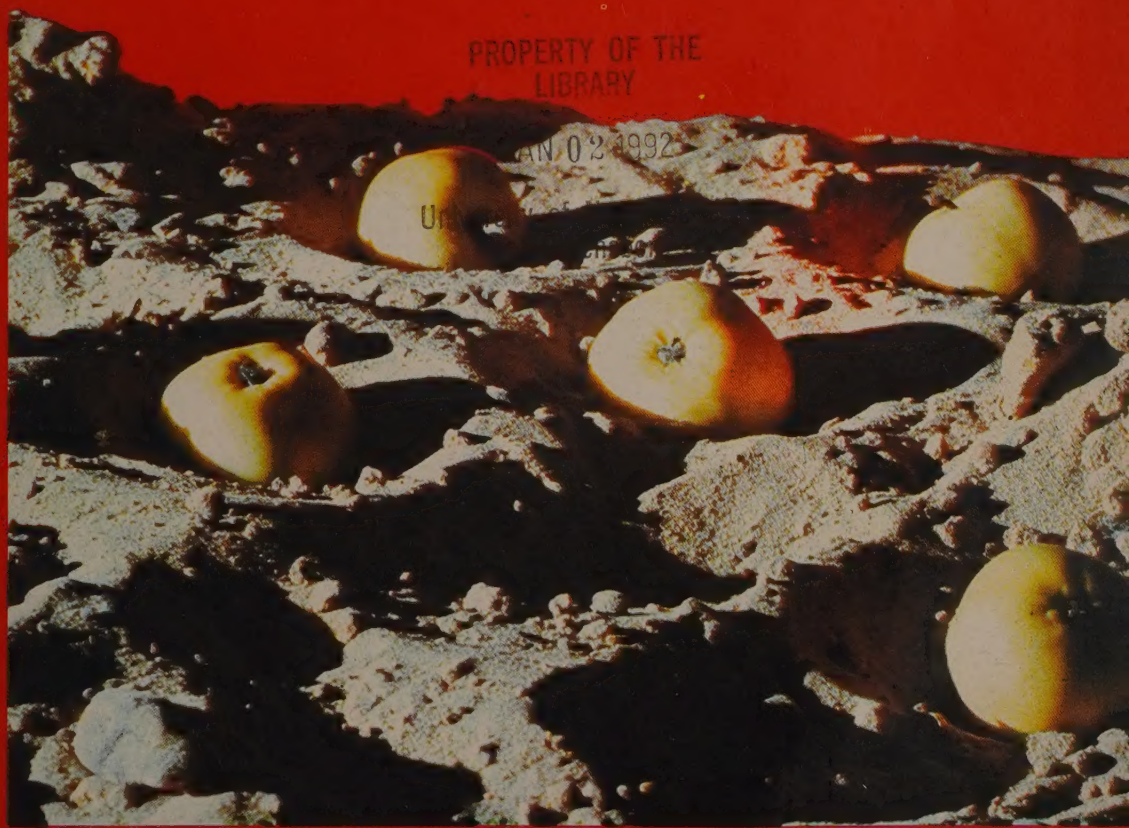

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A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

No. 50, 1991
Founded 1945

Soviet Union is on its death bed. Three Slavonic republics intend to act together

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From our mailbag

■ I read Sokolov's article "A second Caucasian war?" (No. 46/91) with great interest. It differs from many others by its depth and unbiased analysis of the situation. Having examined the problem from the historical point of view, the author was able to show the motives and tendencies of political processes in the Chechen-Ingush Republic today.

I sincerely hope that in the future, too, your magazine will consider urgent political and socio-economic problems of various regions of the Russian Federation in an unbiased manner and carry well thought out articles on them. Yours respectfully,

Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation
Moscow

■ Your magazine carried several articles by Anatoly Rubinov on the burning problem of a sex life the Soviet way. The author made wide use of examples from history and even mentioned Engels. "The founder (of Marxism) was never married," he alleges. Engels regarded as immoral not divorce, but family life without mutual love.

Rubinov is wrong in saying that Engels was a bachelor. He was married twice. His first wife was Mary Berns, an Irish worker. Though the marriage was not registered officially, they lived as man and wife. One can read about this in reference and other books. In 1863 Mary Berns died. Incidentally, the bosom friends fell out for the first time in their lives when, as Engels thought, Marx coolly received the news of Mary's death. Later Engels married again, this time officially. He registered his marriage to Mary's sister.

Today we, the teachers of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism are called professional deceivers. But its turns out that we can prove useful, too.

Vladimir Sukhodolsky, history teacher, member of the Communist Party since 1947
Simferopol

■ I discovered *New Times* for myself two years ago. Since then I have been a regular reader of your magazine, which I sincerely admire. If a party were founded on the basis of your views I would probably become a member of it. Nevertheless, in my opinion, some

Latvia needs its own army

■ Radical changes are taking place in the KGB and the Ministry of the Interior, and only in the Soviet Army everything remains as it was before. It was announced that political bodies had been abolished. However, the party functionaries in uniform will continue to serve in other posts, often specially created for them. This means they will continue to exert influence on the situation in the army, as Yuli Sointsev writes in the Latvian newspaper *Atmoda*.

Moscow newspapers are trying to assure us that, on the whole the army did not support the military coup. However, the army officers serving outside Russia backed the putsch almost unanimously. Zhirinovsky is the most popular politician among the military who is now serving in Latvia. They hope that through another coup the Baltic republics will again be included in the Soviet empire.

During his visit to Latvia in September, the Soviet Defence Minister tried to calm the officers down by saying that the troops would not be pulled out before 1994, that everyone of them could continue to serve while those who do not want to serve any longer would be able to retire in spite of their age and post. But the Minister's statement aroused only indignation among officers. They fear that on returning to Russia in three years' time they will find themselves without housing and work and in the meantime they will live like at a railway station, waiting for a ticket home. In addition, many servicemen will try to get other jobs, and this means there will be a shortage of officers in the Soviet Army. The burden carried by the remaining officers will double or even triple.

Latvian newspapers believe that tension will increase in cantonments and discipline will slacken. If the Union breaks up completely and the economic situation in Russia deteriorates sharply, the behaviour of the troops stationed in the Baltic republics will become uncontrollable. This means that Latvia will soon need its own army to counterpose the uncontrolled Soviet troops. We may recall here the Riga-based riot police unit which razed the unarmed custom posts of Lithuania and Latvia. However, the riot police did not attack Estonian custom posts because they were guarded by local armed policemen.

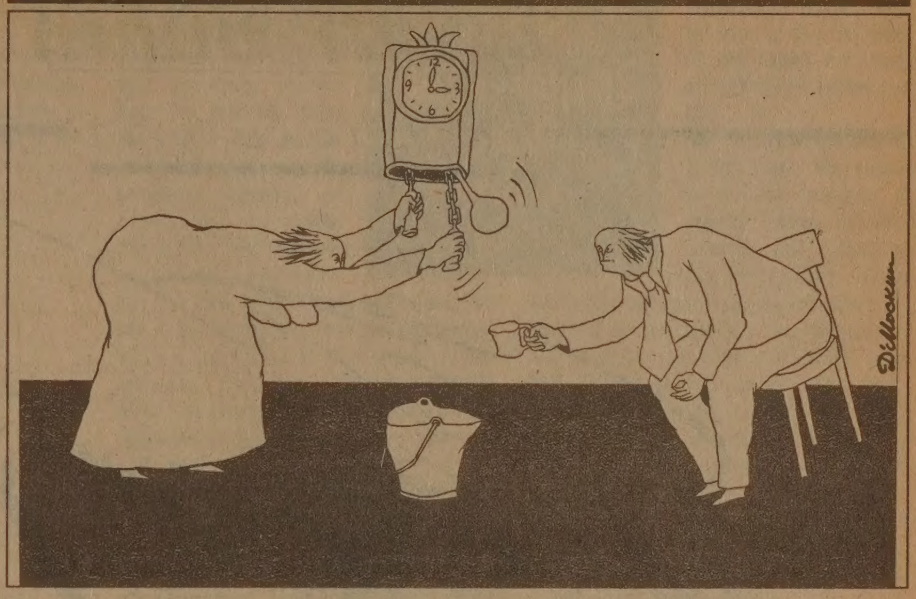
The raising of Latvia's armed forces and supplying them with weapons will be one of the main points of negotiations between Moscow and Riga. The Soviet delegation will inevitably try to persuade Latvia that it does not need an army of its own. It will apparently be easy to persuade Latvia because this point of view is rather widespread here. Therefore, all proposals of the Soviet negotiators should be taken very critically, proceeding from Latvia's strategic interests. We should also think about where to buy arms, because purchasing arms from the Soviet Union will make the Baltic republics directly dependent on it in the political sphere also.

Ivars Rozenbergs,
Jelgava, Latvia

"We should not buy arms from the Soviet Union"

General Vlasov as a Russophobe

Nevertheless, Engels was married



Drawing by Dmitry Moskin

articles have a prejudiced approach.

The polemic about General Vlasov in the pages of *New Times* is very interesting and informative. Unfortunately, in it one can sense something akin to admiration for the anti-Stalin struggle of traitors. Theirs was an anti-Russian struggle. Vlasov fought against our people in close alliance with German fascism. Vlasovites killed Russian soldiers in fighting. How can one talk about their activity as an indication of future democratic changes in our country? In this way any crime can be called political opposition to the regime. We could see on TV a woman from the United States who, pretending to be the daughter of Vlasov's aide, was scornfully talking about Russia.

Vlasov sided with the fighters against Stalinism only when this desertion promised him deliverance from the horrors of the camps. Why can't the magazine publish the text of a Vlasov leaflet disseminated among our troops in the summer of 1943 near Orel and Ponyri? The order was signed by Vlasov and the Wehrmacht command. It called on Soviet soldiers not to fight against Stalin but to surrender, promising them incalculable blessings. What would have happened if our soldiers had responded to the appeals of Vlasov and the fascist Wehrmacht? In what Russia would we live today? Was Vlasov naive enough to believe that after his victory Hitler would allow him to build a free and democratic Russia? Wasn't an alliance with fascism immoral from the standpoint of universal human values advocated by your magazine? Any even indirect justification of immoral actions inspires base feelings in people's minds. This explains why the daughter of Vlasov's aide began to be proud of her father and openly declared it.

During the war I was a lieutenant. I was wounded three times and joined the Communist Party in the trenches in 1943. In 1988, I left the party and voted for Yeltsin. I adhere to anti-Bolshevist views now, but treachery remains treachery.

Vladimir Sarmakeshev, psychotherapist,
Sochi

■ It was in vain that *New Times* apologized to Mr Morton, director of the BBC Russian service (No. 42/91). He writes that the BBC did not report Gorbachev's death during the coup attempt. This is not true. I myself heard this news in the BBC broadcast for Russia on August 19 or 20. It said that Gorbachev had died.

I was absolutely sure that it was the BBC, not any other radio station. I am under 50 and have listened to the BBC for many years. I do not confuse the voices of English announcers with the voices of others. That is why it is London journalists, not *New Times,* who should have apologized.

It is an indisputable fact that the broadcasts made by Radio Liberty were the best ones during the coup.

Vasily Belyayev,
Saratov

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

"In 1945 we attacked our neighbour"

■ *New Times* has written much about the problem of northern territories. As a Soviet army officer (retired) and a war veteran, I would like to share my views on this subject.

The situation on the fronts was very critical in 1941 and 1942. At that time Japan unwittingly did us a great service which we have not appreciated until now. It did not join the war against the Soviet Union despite heavy pressure from Germany. How did we act in relation to Japan? In 1945, at the request of our allies, we invaded our Far Eastern neighbour, who maintained neutrality in a time so hard for us. Germany was vanquished and Japan capitulated. After the capitulation of one of the belligerents, hostilities ceased. However, we captured the Kurile islands. What is the result? A peace treaty with Japan has not yet been concluded and the territorial dispute has not yet been settled.

We are greatly indebted to the Japanese people. The conditions in camps for Japanese POWs were so bad that young soldiers died almost every day. Many burial sites were not known until now, whereas the graves of Russians buried in Japan were kept in good order.

Simultaneously, with the conclusion of a peace treaty we should return to Japan unconditionally all the territories the USSR occupied since that time: the south of Sakhalin, and the Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan and Khabomai islands. These four islands, which cannot even be designated on a map (they are marked by dots in the Pacific) stand in the way of economic cooperation between our countries.

Japan occupies a small territory, and the loss of these islands is very painful to it. We approach this problem ambitiously. That is why the Japanese do not trust us fully and do not help us out of the present economic crisis. It is we, not they, who have to change.

Fyodor Makhnov
Rostov Region

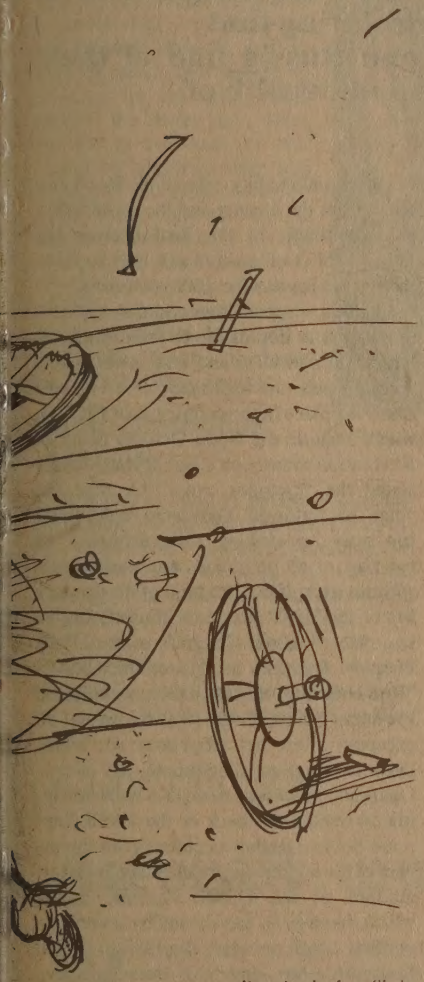
POLITICAL LIFE

The Union is on the move, first stop Minsk

When much is obscure all that we plainly see is that a turn in the tide is taking place. Hence reporters appeal to public opinion even to the point of interviewing pedestrians on the go. We, though, decided to venture into a new field to interview reporters and journalists, hence we of *New Times* are interviewed below.

What New Times staff think

■ **I think** the Minsk accords the best solution in the obtaining situation as any attempts to reanimate the Union in any form are doomed. It is impossible today to forecast what kind of statehood we will have throughout the erstwhile USSR. Indeed, it is futile to tailor life to pre-cut models. What will be will be. The main thing is not to put a spanner in the works. For the Slavs to form the nucleus of a future commonwealth, union or confederation is a good thing, but if they don't, we will be having something else. In any case since man is a pragmatic creature, he won't cut off his nose to spite his face.



Drawing by Igor Shein

■ **I think** things won't get worse. The unreasonable pettifogging around the Union made it impossible to resolve basic issues especially to modify forms of property ownership and cast off the chains of state-barracks socialism. For it is a fact that since the republics could not get moving in toto, they did not move by themselves generally.

However sad it might be to part with the Union formula we shall have to do that. Though there is no Union, we ourselves, exist and must extract something positive from the obtaining situation. That is rather hard, it would be easier to extract something negative, to protest, trot out bogies and threaten with collapse and civil war. I hear it said that the food situation will deteriorate. But can it be worse than what we have today, which is the upshot of the retention of that self-same distributive socialist principle, which has dumped us in the bog? We have tasted of that principle, so why not try something else?

■ **I think** this puts paid to the Union, however regrettably by force. Note that no use of force passes with impunity. The current use of force will doubtlessly damage the new community's prestige in the eyes of the world community. Indeed how do the three leaders imagine relationships with the outside world will be like if in one fell swoop, by command, they have abolished the USSR as an object of international law, and as a UN member-state and have raptured its diplomatic ties?

■ **I think** everything is right and logical. The break-up of the Union as a super-empire was inevitable. An economic agreement suffices, whereas sooner or later we will evolve ways and means of reaching accord. I see Gorbachev's warning mostly as his fear of finding himself without authority, even the wind of authority the British Queen enjoys, though he has long since landed in these straits which he simply cannot bring himself to recognize. I prefer to live in Russia, not in the USSR, the USS or Heaven knows what else.

■ **I think** the process is on the move, as it should he according to the logic of circumstance, implying the Centre's stance, the position taken by the republican leaderships and the resolve of their respective populations. True, the behaviour of each of the subjects of this far from amorous triangle reveals jarring notes that cause some anxiety. I would say, going by what the USSR President has noted, that we have here "a display of ardour." Yet as a certain philosopher once observed a good politician will not wait for the water to burst the dyke, but will have channels dug in advance. Mikhail Gorbachev failed to do that and let much of the water slip trough his fingers. All that he can be angry with today is with himself. True, the "Minskites" ought to have furnished a suitable niche for him, so that the water he has spilled not freeze or, still worse, bubble and boil.

■ **I think** somebody should crow. The danger is that by indulging in political games we may overlook the possibility that the founding fathers of the new supersovereign expanse being established on the USSR's ruins, will saddle a kind of Push-me-Pull-me in the shape of at best state capitalism or at worst state-socialist capitalism far removed from an unhampered market economy. In that case the high contracting sovereign parties, having shared the shopworn Centre, will find themselves enmeshed in Heaven knows what kind of statehood as the result of which the ship of civilization and democracy will go on the rocks.

■ **I think** the commonwealth's architects are vainly renouncing Gorbachev's involvement. True, though little is left of his national authority, it is not at all vital for a revolution to destroy its creators let alone gobble up its children. As Heinrich Böll once noted, the history of mankind is one of human ingratitude. However, the new community being born in such travail should be merciful towards Gorbachev, let alone Col. Alksnis.

■ **I think** the Orientals of old were right when they wished their enemies to "live in a time of reform." The present phase of our "time of reform" is pregnant for all of us with the gravest and fully tangible danger of an explosion by the resonance effect, when discontent felt over the lack of food and commodities, is compounded by the discontent felt over the high prices, the prospect of unemployment, and the transformation of part of the non-indigenous population of the various republics into pariahs and refugees. The way out is to rapidly effect market reforms, firstly privatize the land. Economic improvement in Russia and the other republics would make their gradual rapproachment more realistic.

■ **I think** the country, whose disintegration is inevitable, stands on the threshold of civil war. Clashes on empire borders will develop into street rioting in the centre. I fear that for a time power here will be usurped by national patriotic forces who will end democracy and introduce that "iron order" that our declasse and sick society likes so very much. There will be no one to defend democracy The whirlpool the sinking of one-sixth of the

earth's land mass produced will suck in the well-being of Western society, which is not able even to end the outrageous situation that has erupted in Yugoslavia. The Union's rebirth will be attended by a bloodbath. In short what we have here is a nightmare a quagmire.

■ **I think** that what I think will have no effect whatever on developments. Who had to think were the leaders of our erstwhile country, both those who went before, and those who have become leaders of what is left of this country. After all, these leaders are amazingly alike. The former leaders did not inquire of my father and grandfather, when they established the Union. The present leaders were not interested in what I think when they abolished this Union. What has taken place is in effect a coup d'etat, compared to which even the State Emergency Committee plot appears child's play from the angle of legitimacy. Oh Lord, when will scullery maids stop ruling this state?

■ **I think** everything will revert to normal. What is taking place in the country is so extraordinary for our generation to assimilate that much is seen through emotion-packed, distorted eyes. What is less visible is the play of interests, for which we journalists are also partly to blame. Thus far our popularly elected deputies were preoccupied with attempts to shove one another into a pit. Now they seem to have met in that pit! How to extricate themselves from the pit is transforming their rivalry into comradeship in misfortune. Only then will common interests compel them to put their shoulders to the wheel to the common benefit of those who chose them to rule.

■ **I think** that all the erstwhile republics with the exception of the Baltic states are reminiscent of tight-rope walkers above a deep abyss, at whom stones are being chucked to obstuct their passage in every conceivable way. The main thing today is not to lose the balance.

■ **I think** we should stop banging our heads against a blank wall! The country had three tasks before it: to free itself from the Party, to free the peoples, and to free the economy. Whatever the case, everything is moving towards freedom. The only thing we should not do is to confuse the two notions of liberation and freedom. Liberation is a one-off thing, while freedom develops over the years. We cannot expect freedom on the next day after liberation. However freedom never comes without liberation.

Dear reader,
Please tell us to which view you prefer to subscribe and why.
Air your own views too.

The Minsk triangle

During their Minsk weekend, Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich shocked the entire world and their "comrades in misfortune," to wit the former republics of the USSR, by declaring that Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Russia had of their own volition fathered a commonwealth of independent states

Marina Shakina

The event was abrupt coming as a complete surprise to everyone, including the USSR President, the leaders of the sister republics, and perhaps even the trio involved. Indeed, after the Ukraine's independence referendum and presidential elections, which made it clear that the latest Novo-Ogaryovo project, known as the USS had caved in, inasmuch as the Ukraine was dead set against participation, while without the Ukraine Russia did not see it as having any purpose, the entire situation appeared to have approached deadlock. The sensational bombshell the Minsk accords generated is precisely that just one week after the Ukrainian referendum, when one thought nothing now would restrain the Ukraine, and one was at one's wit's end, the leaders of the erstwhile Union's three largest republics managed to come to terms over what a whole clan of politicians had futilely striven to achieve in Novo-Ogaryovo for a more than six months. It had been thought there was no way out, but all of a sudden there was a way out.

The action of the Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian leaders is viewed differently. Thus, the USSR President who had guided the Novo-Ogaryovo process was not at all pleased that Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich had relieved him of the care to organize the erstwhile Union's affairs. Then Nursultan Nazarbaev, who in the Novo-Ogaryovo process had been in the limelight, must have felt left out in the cold. However he must be given his due that in this exceedingly delicate situation, he once again demonstrated restraint, with no public scandalous dish-smashing. After all, to feel slighted is never the more suitable motivation in political activity.

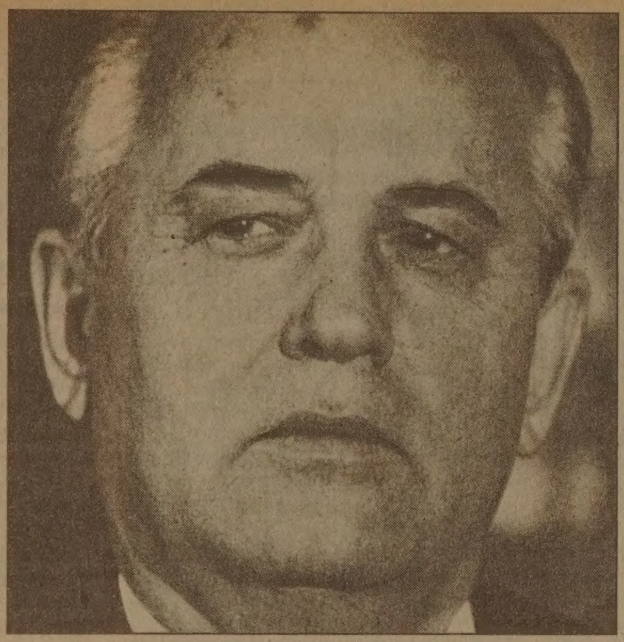
Re: Legitimacy

The basic questions one may put to the Minsk accords derive from their legal and moral aspects. The three republics have denounced the 1922 Union Treaty. Could these three republics out of the previous fifteen, even though the erstwhile Union's founders, unilaterally disband it? Was it nice to confront the country and the world with a **fait accompli.** In the final analysis the Union's lot is of concern not only to these three republics and the three politicians...

But this is speculative and scholastic. It seems utterly impossible to fathom what is legitimate nowadays and what is not. Many greatly doubt the legitimacy of everything that took place in the country as of 1917 on, which includes the Great October Socialist Revolution as such, an event now habitually styled the "October coup." Or take the years that followed. They were replete with run-away law-making amateurishness on the part of all politicians and parliaments without exception! The taint of illegitimacy lies on the USSR President himself; thus he was elected to the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies as one of the CPSU's "Red Hundred" and even then, was elected President by the Congreess, by way of an exception, but not popularly so. Many likewise counted illegitimate the Novo-Ogaryovo process as such, as it had been initiated behind the back of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Rather peculiar from the aspect of the legitimacy are the latest transformations of the USSR Supreme Soviet which, in passing, has shrunk by several republics. Small wonder, the Constitutional Committee has long been mum, whereas when it is compelled to say something, what it says is a neither–yes and a neither–no.

The juridical notions are emasculated. In what way does a republic's sovereignty so fashionably announced a year ago differ from a declaration of independence, which all were so determined to enunciate after the August putsch? And what does that imply in espect of the Union's lot? Though one may pretend that everything is rosy in the garden, that it all fits in with the Union scheme, this is not at all convincing. Yes, the Ukraine is independent, with its people having quite definitely voted for that, but that is still no excuse for the Ukraine not to count itself part of the USSR. However one may look at it, there is something that is faulty in this "constitutional" reasoning.

So what actually took place in Minsk? Quite voluntarily, without any outside coercion and proceeding from their sovereign rights, the democratically elected leaders of the three largest sovereign republics of the erstwhile USSR concluded an agreement, which in their point of view accords with the national interests of their particular states and peoples. How can one object? Of course, they may be reproached for not having taken perhaps the better way, which was not to denounce the 1922 Treaty, but simply seceding from the USSR and subsequently establish their commonwealth. In that case there would be nothing to carp at. Yet would that have really changed anything with three republics comprising their commonwealth and the others still in the USSR? One can of course, see it like that if one wants to.



A President without a country?

Homo Sovieticus mentality

If we bother to translate the Minsk developments from the diplomatic jargon to run-of-the-mill of Homo Sovieticus, mentality, we would arrive at the following. This is that the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia have told the Centre and all Union structures: "We don't need you. You stand in the way. We can get along without you." However, whether the republics could dispense with coordinating agencies and structures is open to question. The matter is that actually they do not want to have these Kremlin structures on any account, however they may be renamed. Every attempt to tell them that they should have such structures would sooner generate opposition and annoyance. The fact that Minsk has been chosen as the centre of the commonwealth is highly symbolical. Apart from everything else, it betrays the desire to have nobody confuse the commonwealth of independent states with the former Moscow-governed totalitarian empire. Many associate Moscow with empire chauvinism, the Centre of arbitrariness, the hand of Moscow, the metropolis of the Cominternia, and sundry other terror-raising symbols.

In that case we would again be confronted with the old totalitarian distorted mentality and be obliged to provide the correct answer to the following questions. Do the republics exist for the Union, or does the Union exist for the republics? Do the Union President and centre structures exist for the republics? Do the Union President and centre structures exist for the freely united republics, or do the republics, on the other hand, exist so that we can have a Union President and a Union Parliament? No doubt the resolve of the republics comes first, while the structures they create to execute their resolve come after.

Next, what objections could one have to the Minsk accords? It is long since we have perused so "correct and right" a document. Indeed, in the space of but one day the republics came to terms on all the controversional and most painful issues, whether concerned with a common economic and primarily, common monetary and financial expanse over the stabilization period, or with the preservation of a common military strategic expanse, the preservation of the army's status, guarantees of national minority rights and human rights

A LAWYER'S VIEW

Aircraft must fly

We must firstly proceed from the premise that the commonwealth agreement between the three republics has been signed. Yet let us not forget that this commonwealth's well-being largely depends on the extent to which its creation is juridically substantiated.

As I see it, the USSR cannot be juridically abolished by a decision of the leaders of the three states. After all in 1922 the Union's founders included apart from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, also the Transcaucasian Federation, whose heirs in the person of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia have thus far not commented. Then scarcely could the USSR's lot be settled without the republics that joined it later.

According to the norms of constitutional law, the decision to disband the USSR should be taken at a session of the Supreme Soviet. I do not think there is any point in assembling the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for that purpose, inasmuch as the latest rotation in the Supreme Soviet's composition adequately reflects the interests of the states still in the Union. I do not doubt that in the obtaining situation the decision to have the Union disband itself will be adopted by a considerable majority in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Further I cannot acknowledge as juridically correct the decision to have all the agencies of the erstwhile Union cease operation upon the signing of the agreement. Thus, the USSR had uniform customs and air codes, while in the republics such insurance simply did not exist. Does that mean that from now on aircraft should no longer fly, while the customs should no longer combat smuggling?

I also view as abuse of jurisdiction the decision the leaders of the three republics took to dissolve the USSR Supreme Soviet. A decision of that nature should be taken by the Parliament itself, which doubtlessly will be done.

It stands to reason that the new economic expanse which the three republics have created calls for the appropriate legal expanse or dimension. Hence, it would be essential to have the laws operating in these republics unified as far as possible which should also concern the adoption of common norms, inasmuch as infringements in relations between states as regards ecology, the nuclear potential and the armed forces, will inevitably occur. As I see it, a commonwealth court could undertake to arbitrate. This same court should evidently pronounce verdicts with regard to persons on the staffs of interstate structures, and arbitrate in the case of territorial conflicts and of violations of human rights.

Finally, if the commonwealth states believe it essential to coordinate efforts in their drive against organized crime, then how can they dispense with common bodies for detection, inquiry, interrogation, and prosecution?

Valery Savitski,
D.Sc. (Law)

and the openness of borders. All international commitments have been reaffirmed. In area the three republics comprise about 80 percent of the territory of the erstwhile USSR and it is throughout this vast expanse that the accords promise stability.

Of course, many have found themselves in an awkward situation, which concerns not only the aforementioned USSR President and the leaders of the other constituent republics. After all, we have almost came to terms with the West on how we were to repay the external debt, and so it is quite possible now that the related negotiations will need to be amended. Hardly four months have passed since the Interrepublican Economic Committee (IEC) was created with Ivan Silayev at its head. The republics have already stated they will revise their attitude to this body. Finally, Eduard Shevardnadze has only just returned to the Union MFA. Does this mean he will have nothing to do now?

The Minsk accords are of course merely a protocoled declaration of intent. Sceptics may object that in their desire to deal the Union its coup de main, the three leaders are willing to promise the earth and produce any beautifully composed document. Will that all be realized? The Minsk agreement is a tangibly signed document that has emerged naturally out of volition "from below," so to speak, and therein we have a small but tangible guarantee that it will be effective. Indeed, had the three republics simply sought to break up the Union, the Ukraine's secession alone would have sufficed. However, Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich are seriously minded politicians, and that being so, we have yet to see the main job be done.

Does the Union exist?

The parties to the Minsk accords declared that having discarded all the ambiguities and hypocrisy attending the problem of the Union Treaty, they had resolved to proceed from the reality that the USSR no longer exists. Indeed, the world community has already recognized the independent Baltic states, while Georgia and Moldova have long departed from Union affairs, noting in passing that they have no intention of coming back. Eight concerned republics put together an interrepublican economic agreement, while seven came up with a draft for the Union of Sovereign States, which however was never initialled even by its architects. The Ukraine rejected out of hand the very idea of the USS. Over the past year the Union Treaty has not budged one step. Hence against this cheerless background, the agreement the three republics have reached seems a breakthrough.

One may of course variously assess the moral and juridical aspects of the denunciation by the three republcs of the 1922 Treaty and their declaration that Union legislation is henceforth inoperative. But on the other hand one cannot deny that in this critical deadlock the three politicians came up with an unusual speedy decision. Perhaps it is such decision that we lacked all six years of perestroika, concern this the Baltic states, Tbilisi or Karabakh.

The Union obviously needed to be disbanded several years ago, so that the republics be able to preoccupy themselves with their own affairs in their own territories and at last conceive a burning desire to set up a new Union at all costs. The agreement of the three has drastically modified the entire mentality, with there now being no need to selflessly struggle for secession from the Union, to demonstrate determination, grit and other militant qualities. All have seceded. There is no centre now. There is no need to fight it and perhaps that is precisely the import of the Minsk accords. There has been a shift of emphasis from the struggle to cooperation and from the centre's abolition to the evolution of a new unity. Actually this offers the ultimate chance of aborting centrifugal tendencies throughout the erstwhile Union and of converting them into centripetal tendencies with a different centre in a different place.

The agreement is open to all countries desirous of joining. Which largely resolves the problems associated with the USS and the republics who had been prepared to sign the related document. Nor do I think any problem remains as regards Union legislative and executive structures in the form of the Supreme Soviet, which nowadays decides nothing, with which everyone has long ceased to count, and in which only half the former USSR republics are represented. The basic remaining problem is that of the USSR President, the "Father of Perestroika" and a decent solution must be found for it.

One referendum after another

While the three republican leaders were meeting in Minsk, Gorbachev gave an interview to Ukrainian television. I for one thought his forceful persistent eloquence reminiscent of his first Vilnius visit, when he sought to get the Lithuanians to stay on in a federation. We all know how that ended. Today the President definitely wants all the others to stay on in a confederation. Indeed, his intonation, hidden threats and hints were the same. However, in the couple of years since his naive Vilnius visit everything has changed.

The President promised to go to the nation. In his statement he proposes a referendum. Does he really seriously want us to choose between the tripartite alliance and the USS? There are three

VIEW OF MILITARY EXPERTS

Who commands the army

The accords pay considerable notice to military matters. The armed forces are in a rather awkward situation. On the one hand, they have yet to be reduced after the end of the cold war. Despite the Soviet-American agreement and despite the essentially altered world climate, the previous Union leadership has not been able over the years to evolve a sufficiently swift way to drastically reduce the volume of military spending and the armed forces. Now we are faced with the Union's reorganization. The agreement Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia have signed creates the conditions for settling these issues.

Recent attempts to set up a defensive alliance, a system of collective security have been abortive. However, the problem of the further lot of the armed forces as too that of nuclear armaments remains. The Minsk accords declare that the states "will preserve and maintain under joint command a common military strategic expanse incorporating joint control of nuclear weapons, procedures for which are governed by special agreement." This means that currently though the armed forces are not disbanded but continue to exist as one integrated unit, the top echelon, implying the armed forces command, will be different, with the joint command in the person of the USSR President replaced by a coalition command, wherein the three republics party to the agreement will be represented. Hence there will be one, not three, nuclear buttons. But for this button to operate it must be pressed down simultaneously by three fingers. That means there will be less chance of nuclear weapon employment and, on the other hand, it enhances the reliability and overall safety of armament. The same clause notes the "attainment of the status of a denuclearized zone and neutral state." The neutrality of any of the republics is out of question, provided we have a commonwealth in mind. What is evidently meant is the gradual abolition of nuclear armament or the withdrawal of such armament from the territories of those republics that do not want to have it. That means that nuclear armament will be

points here: firstly, few will want to keep on going to the polls. Secondly, few are able to properly assess all the advantages the USS may offer compared with the Minsk accords. And thirdly, some of the republics of the former Union will absolutely decline to take part in the referendum. We may predict that Georgia, Moldova, the Baltic republics and possibly Armenia will ignore it. It is also quite likely that Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Russia will boycott it. In that case to what extent will a referendum be more legitimate than the Minsk accords? Finally, what are we going to do with its results? After all, whatever these results may be, the conclusions drawn therefrom amount to their total opposites. Then where are the results, for instance, of the March referendum over the Union's lot? Did they influence anything?

The Union for which some are prepared to take the last stand no longer exists. That Union could have been preserved only by means of Stalin-like force. Today it is unwise and too late to struggle for that Union. ■

On December 30, 1922, at the First Congress of the Soviets of the USSR where Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasia announced the founding of the Union

concentrated within Russia, which thus represents a far more civilized way of maintaining unity than a coercive attempt to gather all nuclear armament in one Russian "hand."

The international significance accruing to the given agreement is that inasmuch as between 70 and 80 percent of the USSR's military potential is within Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, their agreement may already allay Western fears to a certain extent.

According to the accords, all the treaties signed on behalf of the Soviet Union, namely the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and the Soviet-American Treaty on Strategic Nuclear Armaments, will now be honoured not by the Union, but by its three heirs. According to the latest edition of the American *Soviet Military Power* booklet deployed within Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia are 70 per cent of the ground forces, 70 percent of the military aircraft and 90.5 percent of the intercontinental ballistic missiles. Plus the divisions currently stationed in Eastern Europe, as well as the troops deployed in the Baltic republics, this will total upwards of 80 percent of ground forces and upwards of three quarters of military aircraft. The bulk of the Soviet Army will be concentrated within these republics. We must further take into consideration the prospect of the Soviet Army withdrawing from the Transcaucasia.

The officer corps is primarily made up of men from Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Today the Army's social problems are more acute than ever. By now the living standards of a serviceman, who has been with the Army for quite some time are 5-6 times lower than before. Some 300,000 servicemen are without lodgings and hence it is delightful to see that the Ukraine and Byelorussia, who have much potential for stationing servicemen, will assume the burden of settling some of their social problems. In the upshot of the agreement the Soviet Army will no longer be an instrument for centre policy, but will be by no means alien to the Ukraine or Byelorussia, and the troops stationed there will be part of a common army.

As for the further lot of the armed forces, that is not quite clear as yet. The Minsk agreement represents both the final phase of disintegration and the possible start of consolidation. But will there be any consolidation? That is hard to say. It is quite likely that the further development of the armed forces will spell their division between the republics. At the outset, we will have a joint command, but it is subsequently possible that there will be a definite break-up with part of the Army, or some of the arms of the service becoming national armed forces. For instance, in a year from now we might see in the Ukraine an armed force manned by that state's citizens, headed by generals who will take the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine. It is plain that the "Ukrainianization" and "Byelorussianization" of the armed forces within these republics will be rather rapid.

The basic issue today is that the large reserve of time, which we had in 1985-86 has already been spent. There is very little time now for taking well thought-out decisions that would realistically modify the trend of social, political and economic development.

Still we have an opportunity before us now with the Minsk accords inaugurating the rather knotty process of negotiation.

Vadim Makarenko

and Dmitry Trenin

Who's there by the Mausoleum?

Tatiana Ivanova

Majestic and grandiose is the collapse of the great myth that all peoples of the USSR want to live in a single state

A tremendous percentage of people voted for independence of the Ukraine... In the past few years the citizens of the former USSR have had to part with many an illusion and each time it was a hard parting. The Russians can be said to have suffered more disillusionments than any other Soviet nation. The first was the myth about the great, benign and human Vladimir Ilyich Lenin – a great Russian "who wished us well but died too early." The myth collapsed with a bang at the moment the archives which the CPSU bosses had been keeping secret for decades were made public.

The echoes of that noise have not yet died. People still gather outside Lenin's tomb, the Mausoleum, in Moscow's Red Square to demonstrate their loyalty to the organizer of mass killings of innocent people. The defenders of the Mausoleum are kind-faced, but this doesn't deceive any one. The frail old ladies and venerable old gentlemen want to worship the remains of a killer. This fact does not call for discussion or debate any longer. It only makes one shudder with horror when one looks down the black abyss that is the human soul and pass the group of pro-Lenin protesters and look away from the disgraceful spectacle.

Majestic and grandiose is the collapse of the great myth that all peoples of the USSR want to live in a single state. Some people who understand the officialese better than normal human speech believe that this myth was confirmed at the March referendum when the Soviet people were asked to tell whether they were for or against living in a reformed Union. The referendum question was worked in such a way that it was impossible to answer *nyet* (no) to it. It was intentionally organized that way, a fact realized by everyone who is not completely brainwashed. Everybody wants to be independent now from the central government – the Big Brother...

It was not really bad when Letts and Estonians, Kirghizes and Georgians, Lithuanians and Kazakhs opted for independence. In our hearts we understood that they had little reason to love Russia. The Ukraine was an entirely different matter.

And it turned out suddenly that the Ukraine's craving for independence was easily greater, more shared and more unanimous than that in any other republic. Why is this so? Perhaps because during the years of living together in the Soviet marriage the Russians were subconsciously aware of Lithuania's or Georgia's being a foreign land. As for the Ukraine, it was regarded as a part of Russia, even as a marginal part. The most painful insult was the ignorant and frequently-voiced belief that the Ukranian language was not actually a language by its own right, but rather a distorted version of Russian...

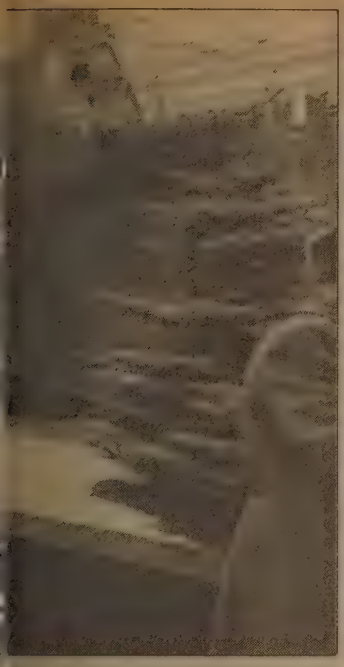
I see the current situation as similar to a family crisis when the husband is reluctant to tell his wife that he is going to leave her for another woman, fearing that the wife will not be able to survive the bad news. When he finally reveals the truth to her, he is surprised to see his wife happy and enthusiastic about the unexpected freedom.

Great Russia has been hugging other countries for far too long. Its grasp on the Ukraine was the closest one. And now it is the Ukraine that is most enthusiastic about breaking free from that hug.

As I listened to reports coming from polling stations across the Ukraine, I had a sad thought: Lord, how they all hate us... They do not want to have anything in common with us, they don't want a union, they don't want common money, they don't want any form of confederation or common economic space. They don't even want to cooperate with us in a time of crisis. The only thing that can be heard amidst the deafening thunder of the collapse is "leave us alone!"

Do they really hate Russians? Of course not, they hate the representatives of the empire, whatever the nationality of such representatives. When this role was assumed by Ukranians, Kazakhs or Georgians, the attitude towards Ukranians, Kazakhs and Georgians became exactly the same: a mixture of suspicion, apprehension and pretended respect. Unfortunately, the image of the empire is today in-

Photos by Yury Gripas



separably connected with Russia. Any representative of the empire, be he a Ukranian, Georgian or Kazakh, was referred to as a Russian...

All this has to be survived and understood. Will the referendum on Ukranian sovereignty separate us? By no means. We are really brothers. Our languages are of one and the same origin. The Ukranian language is as rich and expressive and great as Russian, but it is closer to the shared Slav root. That is why we will never have any problems understanding each other. The life we have lived together has made us closer to each other: we have shared problems and shared songs and there is mixed blood in our children.

The Ukranians must come to understand that the Russians are not Big Brothers any longer. The Russians also must come to understand that they are not Big Brothers. Both nations have to see themselves as simply brothers. It is still unknown which nation will find it more difficult to get used to the new vision. I believe that mass media people, who have always felt ashamed of belonging to the people that was arrogant enough not to reject the Big Brother status, have to assume the responsibility of helping their compatriots today. The responsibility of all mass media people has grown considerably now that the Ukraine has firmly voted for independence. Russia's relations with the great and free nation – the Ukraine – will be good only if people in Russia prove able to sincerely wish happiness to their Ukranian brothers and tell them: "Don't pay attention to attacks. After all, people still gather outside the Mausoleum, but we ignore them..."

■

It's a long way to private property

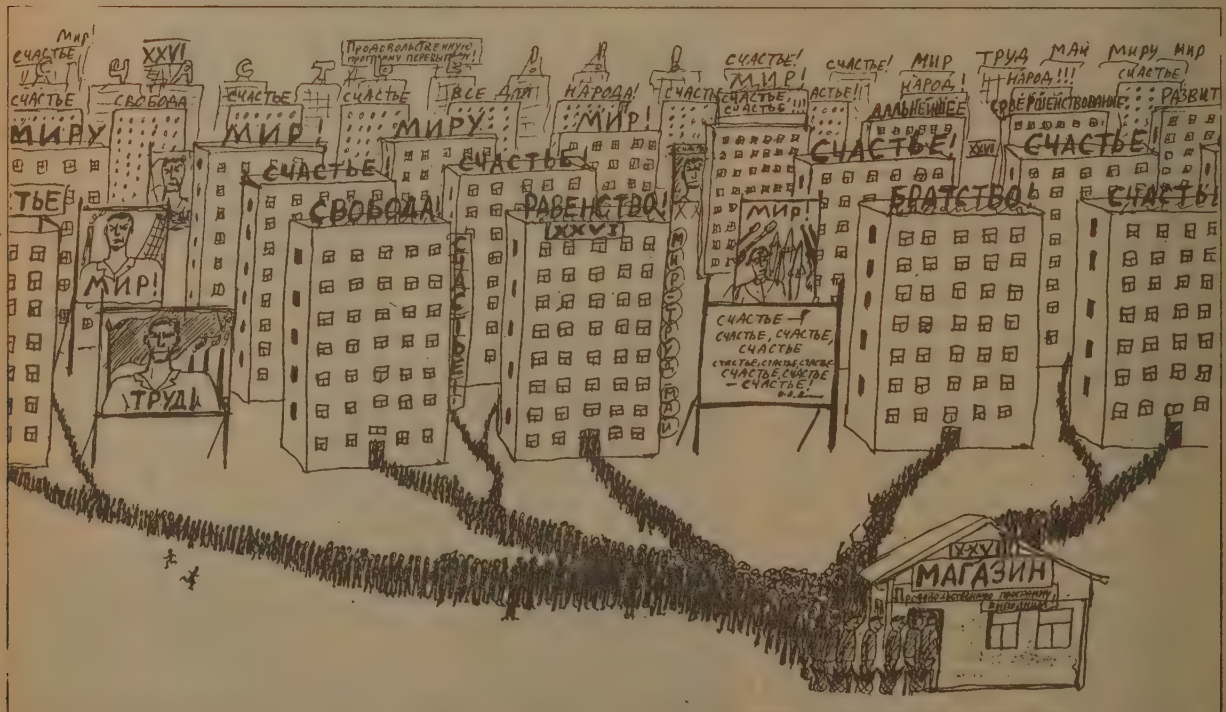
The whole country is waiting with great interest for the outcome of privatization in "one and separate" city of Moscow, watching the process closely as if trying it on ...

"Privatization will start on Wednesday," promised Larisa Piyasheva immediately after she had been given a bureaucratic assignment in Moscow with an unintelligible, but magnificent title – Deputy Director-General of the Moscow Mayor's Department.

Many rejoiced – at last office was taken by the most widely known economist, herald of economic liberalization, highly emotional adherent of private property who had earned her reputation by her caustic criticisms of both the Russian and Moscow leaderships' economic policy. The fellow-fighters of charming and intelligent Larisa Ivanovna – Boris Pinsker and Vasily Selyunin – have insistently demanded during recent years: "Everything to private owners!" Each must have his or her share of property, even if by force; the most important thing is that this or that piece of property must be the headache not of the government but of property-holding citizens. If you don't want this piece, if you are unable to make a profit on it, you may sell it, lease it or give it to someone as a present. Let the capital be circulated by those able to do it. It is necessary – Piyasheva's followers insisted – to allow economic laws, the natural market regulators, to work. It's difficult not to see in Larisa Ivanovna's appointment an element of spite – though it's hard to know on whose part: "Since you have repeatedly affirmed that everything is wrong, will you now please have your way, and we'll see what will come of it. Try to take the wheel, dear Doctor of Economics." So what? It looks as if Piyasheva's initiative has backfired on her.

"Scuffle" in the Moscow City Soviet

The history of privatization in Moscow has two fascinating aspects – the political and bureaucratic one and the political and social one. I would relate to the first all that is taking place in interrelations between Moscow power structures, i.e., all misunderstandings between the Moscow City Soviet and its Presidium, the Moscow Administration and the City Duma, etc. The main meaning of all squabbles between them is to find out who is the boss here. Party rallies, the struggle for influence between various factions and different political groupings, as



Drawing by Dmitry Zgersky

well as the struggle of vanities and ambitions, make the background of these interrelations.

Recently, only prominent specialists who decided to devote themselves to investigation of this problem – the genealogical tree of the Moscow City Soviet with all its numerous branches and twigs – have been able to understand anything in the system of executive-adminstrative-legislative power in Moscow. So far the world hasn't seen anything like the bureaucratic palace erected by Moscow democrats after they came to power. And what's worse, everything has been complicated beyond measure – even the direct participants in these breath-taking events cannot understand who is whose father and who has the right to kill whom. The Muscovites have already despaired of understanding the difference between the Moscow City Soviet and the Mayoralty; the City Duma and the Presidium of the City Soviet, the Executive Committee and the city government, and if you poll a hundred people you won't get an answer. This most complicated and gigantic contraption yields to no control... The democrats have by far outshined any *pre-perestroika* bureaucrat who sacrificed his life on the altar of the glorious cause of weaving red-tape. But maybe, a rank-and-file Muscovite needn't understand such things, but merely trust in those he has voted for, and wait?..

Larisa Piyasheva was invited to work in Moscow's administration by mayor and maestro of democrats Gavriil Popov himself. The wise mayor who enjoys a country-wide reputation as an economist and generally as an extremely smart and even crafty guy, so far has been unable to improve anything in his municipal household – at least Muscovites fail to see any visible and tangible results. It's clear that the legacy he took over was a distressing sight, that not everything depends on even the first person in the city, and yet...

Larisa Piyasheva's plan of privatization conflicted with Vice-Mayor Yury Luzhkov's projects, and Moscow's Administration did not approve it. Mayor Popov seemed ready to put up with it. But then a new round of talks and discussions between the Mayor and Piyasheva on the one hand and the Vice-Mayor and the Administration on the other were crowned with a compromise – instead of all-around privatization (Piyasheva-style) and leasing (Administration-style) it was decided to sell out small enterprises to their personnel or by auction, to lease medium-size ones and convert large and unique ones into joint-stock companies. Everything's settled? No. Enter the Presidium of the Moscow City Soviet and the City Duma to declare the decision made by the Mayoralty invalid. The Moscow City Soviet refers to the Russian Federation's Law on privatization and Popov refers to the President of the Russian Federation's special decree granting the Moscow Mayor wide powers. The Procurator's Office insists that the suit can be settled only in the Constitutional Court.

Such is the purely bureaucratic, superficial outline of events which, in my opinion, has reached far beyond the original issue – privatization of housing and trade, having turned into a classical apparat intrigue and a struggle for influence.

Who's the right guy?

Everybody will agree that the situation with the foodstuffs and commodity market in Moscow is absolutely intolerable. All are convinced that privatization is necessary. There is no necessity for Larisa Piyasheva to waste her time and energy on the education of the masses. However, when the time came to put ideas into practice it suddenly turned out that all this was not so simple as had been expected and that all points of departure of privatization without exception were debatable – to sell out or to give free? To whom? On what grounds? To rent or to appropriate? Here any variant of privatization arouses vehement criticism either from one side or from the other. This is the second, i.e. socio-political aspect. And a spectre of social justice into the bargain. Some believe that it's imperative to prevent the mafia from laying hold of property privatized, others want to protect it from claims of the former nomenclatura, while still others try to wrestle it from the corrupt trade bosses. Moscow authorities have been marking time on this issue for quite a few months already, having finally unnerved Muscovites with contradictory resolutions. Nobody understands any longer what is going on.

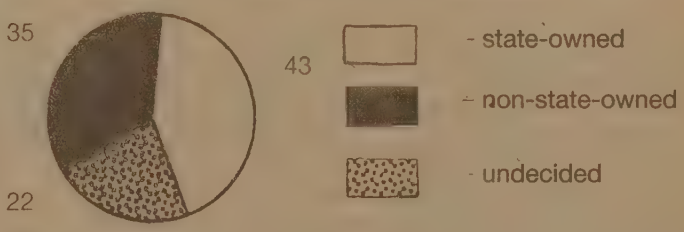
Who is worthy of becoming a proprietor? Suppose it has been decided that work collectives become proprietors. But the question arises of whether they must pay for the enterprise where they work or can take it for free. Shop attendants believe that they have already earned their shops by hard work for the benefit of society. How-

OPINION POLL

Prof Boris Grushin's service reports

The main obstacle is the inertia of mentality

What type of enterprises – (rented, private) non-state-owned or state-owned ones – will be able to lead the country out of the crisis? (given in percentages of the total number of those polled)



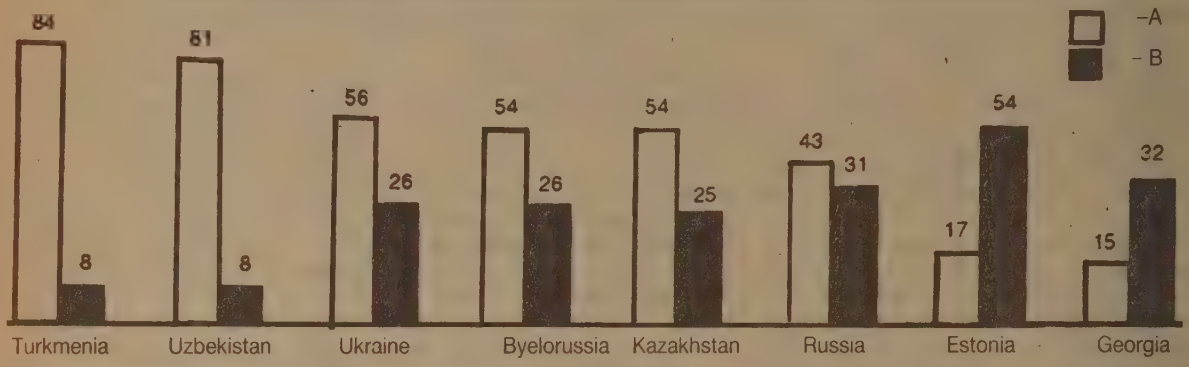
These data are absolutely clear and hardly require commentary. Their main implication: still prevalent in the masses, though considerably shaken, is devotion to the state sector. New economic forms, supported by more than one third of Russia's population, are still mistrusted by many, which is testified to by, in particular, a rather high percentage (more than 1/5!) of those who have not yet made their choice. The real structure of the country's national economy will evidently depend in the near future on these people's option.

The poll clarifies the very nature of the mistrust. When asked, "What is the main obstacle on the path of private enterprise?" 30 percent of those polled named the unpreparedness of people to engage in new, unusual activities; 25 percent mentioned the absence of a material basis for private production and of legislation guaranteeing the corresponding rights of entrepreneurs and their protection; 15 percent spoke of local authorities' hesitance and inertia; 14 percent saw the obstacle in subversive actions on the part of high-ranking party and state officials; 11 – in unwillingness of the masses to reject traditional, habitual ways of life, and an egual number – in envy, rackets, and threats of reprisal. Consequently, it is not only (and probably, not so much) a matter of ideological stereotypes alone...

The all-Union opinion poll. Autumn 1991. 2,000 polled.

I'm dying to work for a private owner, comrades...

Suppose that we live in a society where everyone is free to build his life according to his own choice. Where would you like to work: (A) at a state-owned enterprise, (B) at a cooperative one, or (C) at a private one?



It is clear already that it was the last opinion poll held by the VP Service on the all-Union scale. Above everything else, it has once more demonstrated the artifical character of the state which lasted for seven-odd decades, ambitious to create a new social world but unable to overcome principal socio-ethnic and socio-cultural differences between its various parts.

Below are the results taking those polled as a whole which we offer for the sake of greater accuracy of evaluation. In the framework of the former Union 51 percent of those polled expressed their willingness to work in the state sector, 9 percent wanted to work in cooperatives and 27 percent preferred the private sector, while 3 percent did not want to work at all and 10 percent had not yet made up their minds.

The all-Union opinion poll. 2500 polled at the request of the research institutes for philosophical and sociological studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

ever, the society they have done so much good to doesn't agree and counters it with another question, why should we give property gratis to those who are already far from the least well-off in the country? In fact, it's already been a long time since they, in the framework of the state system, practically turned all shops into their private property and sold through the back door *wholesale* and at market prices, although they received merchandise at state-established prices (corruption, i.e., bribes paid to a bureaucrat in order to be supplied anything at all, may be discounted). And they don't pay taxes at that. But to whom else could the shops be handed over? How to choose?

If we are marching toward a market economy it would be reasonable to sell shops to those who are ready to pay more. Long live fat cats? But how have they managed to earn their millions? Well, if we don't want to sell commercial enterprises to fishy people with capital of dubious origin, let us sell them to the work collectives, but for their real price, not a symbolic one. We are told that working collectives don't have such money. However, it's the economists' job to find a way out. Shops may be sold on credit, or a loan can be taken from a bank. Of course, in this case privatization cannot be carried out urgently, within a fortnight. Anyway, the present mess and strife between the Moscow City Soviet and the Mayoralty may continue much longer...

One might agree that it's shameful to ask money for Moscow's present used trading premises which badly need repair. But in economics everything should be paid for; gratuitousness entails corruption. An owner of gratuitous property is no owner at all, whereas people capable of paying a couple of millions prove their competence in economics by merely having them. On the other hand, there is no guarantee that working collectives which haven't practically paid anything for their property will be able to use it advantageously. However, even this is not so dangerous: unsuccessful collective owners will soon lose their property which will go to smart entrepreneurs.

Selling by auction presents another danger – it may happen that people buy a shop just to invest their capital and not for the sake of any productive or commercial activity. They invest "hot" money in a shop building and keep it locked for months until its market price grows several times. This is pure speculation on real estate. On the other hand, if a shop-owner doesn't want to engage in commerce he can lease the premises and the rent will be paid not to the state, as is the case in the present situation, but to the owner. Of course, this can be helped, and through economic methods as well. For example, to prevent this capital from becoming dead stock and to make it circulate for the benefit of society, it is possible to surtax revenue from rent at a very high rate.

Privatization woes

The present principle of taxing premises – an equal amount for a square meter of production premises in the centre of the city and in its outskirts – is also subject to much criticism. There can be only two ways out, though – either a meticulous stock-taking requiring a lot of time and a lot of officials but yielding highly dubious results because the situation on the market as well as communal service rates will change considerably. Besides, nothing human is alien to an official – prices will be fixed arbitrarily. Or else shops can be sold by auction. Market prices will automatically account for the position of premises sold, their condition, prospects for reconstruction, etc. A shop in the centre then will never be cheaper than its equivalent in the outskirts.

On hearing what interested people say one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that nobody likes the lease. Tenants don't feel they are owners nor are they confident about

their position. Deputies are sure that the lease will feed city bureaucrats who will decide whom to choose as the tenant and on what conditions. But the proponents of leasing argue that a few years of taking a lease will be a kind of term of probation – if everything goes well and a shop doesn't change its activity, if the counters are not empty and the tenants are able to pay taxes and save enough to pay out, there will be no need to sell them... Besides, one must realize that it's impossible to do without bureaucrats in privatization as well as in giving a lease...

The strife in Moscow demonstrates to the whole country how the idea of the market tries to overcome adherence to social justice and how unsuccessfully it copes with the task. The tendency prevails to ensure equal opportunities initially for all for a victory to be honest. This is, however, impossible because some have already earned money in some way or other and others haven't. Some managed to snatch a nice apartment even before *perestroika* and transition to market relations, and some still drag on in common communal flats; somebody has been honoured with a position of a shop manager while somebody hasn't. Is it worthwhile trying to put them all in the same starting position? Isn't it a utopia?

It's possible, of course, to issue privatization cheques to all Muscovites to cover the cost of the property privatized, but it will take a lot of time and, which is more important, nobody has so far thought out thoroughly this version of privatization.

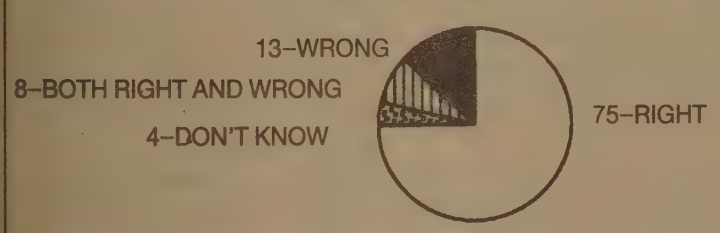
Larisa Piyasheva is beyond reproach – she remains as faithful to the idea of all-around economic privatization after her new high assignment as she was before. Unfortunately, she is not a politician and she does not know that here and now even the brightest idea does not guarantee success. And one more thing – an idea thought out to the end in regard to its practical implementation and committed to paper becomes a complex set of measures. And this is precisely what our Moscow Administration still does not dispose of.

Marina Shakina

Prof. Boris Grushin's service reports

It's better to be healthy and rich

Is it right that some people get richer today if they make their fortunes by honest means?



As is revealed by these figures, the opinion of Russian citizens is unanimous and, in all evidence, demonstrative of changes in mass mentality in favour of market relations. Among the most ardent supporters of affluence are not only those engaged in trade and cooperatives (84-85 percent of their total number), but also students (85%), people with specialized secondary and higher education (80%), Muscovites as a whole (84%), residents of Far Eastern regions (83%), and of Russia's North (89%). Negative answers were more often given by uneducated (below 8 years of school) people (21%), people between the ages of 55-59 (23%), and collective farmers (20%).

It's noteworthy that a similar question was asked by the VP Service early this year. Then the thesis of desirability of being rich was supported by only 43 percent of Russian citizens and rejected by 38 percent (11 percent failed to give a definite answer and 8 percent could not make up their minds). However, in the first case it was a question of wealth as such; it was not specified that it must be amassed "by honest means." The moral aspect of the issue as revealed by the results of the poll, plays a very important role in popular appreciation of free enterprise. And yet the situation has changed. The ideals of equal distribution, unquestionable yesterday, have already begun to crumble...

The all-Russian opinion poll. Autumn 1991. 2,000 polled.

DIFFERENT OPINION

Of democrats, free enterprise and law

Democrats had better not make mistakes: they are being watched

Privatization. This word was included in programmes of practically all candidates who considered themselves democrates. Now democrats are in power. Both in Russia and in the majority of the country's largest cities the key posts are occupied by those who were supported by the Democratic Russia party in the elections. So how does the long-expected privatization which, in the general democratic opinion, must become the basis of the new economic system proceed?

While democratic organs of representative power marked time being engaged in hair-splitting discussions of decrees on privatization, the idea of privatization was enthusiastically accepted by the old bureaucratic structures which, incidentally, were sometimes reinforced with new people. Bureaucrats quickly got down to work, not wasting time on waiting for decrees. As usual, Moscow was one step ahead here.

During the election campaign in the Oktyabrsky District of Moscow one of the important figures in the democratic movement, Ilya Zaslavsky, used to frequently talk about the private sector as a basis of the district's prosperity. Much was said about the harm caused by monopolies and the wholesome role of competition. Yet, once in power, these people set up a number of firms headed by members of the district executive committee who were granted exclusive rights to certain kinds of commercial activity. These firms had priority in acquiring premises, orders and subsidies from the district municipal budget. The same is taking place in many other districts of the capital.

In the meantime, decrees are adopted in Russia. One of them, adopted in March 1991, includes an article stipulating "inadmissibility of participation in free enterprise activities of officials holding office in organs of state power and state administration." Sergei Shakhrai, then chairman of

the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation and now State Councillor of the Russian Federation, said to this effect: "Any such pluralizing, be it in the case of the USSR President, the Union Minister of Finance or a chairman of a district Soviet, is inadmissible and immoral."

However, not all of Russia's leadership agrees with this. Sergei Stankevich, when he was First Deputy Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, became a member of the Board of Directors of one of the commercial banks. He explained it by the difference between the conditions in our country and those in the West. In our country, he claimed, democrats must control business from the inside.

Do you remember the famous decree of the first Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation? "In the Russian Federation holding office as a head of any body of power or administration precludes any other professional occupation." It was universally understood as an act against Comunists. But what about democrats and bodies of power under their authority?

Every day you can see on the commercial TV channel the garish advertisement of the joint-stock company Orgkomitet which holds auctions of production and office premises and apartments. Incidentally, the Director General of Orgkomitet is Premier of Moscow Administration Yuri Luzhkov. So much for the Vice-Mayor; the Mayor himself sets fashion. Hardly anyone could name all posts Gavriil Popov occupies. He is the Mayor, and rector of an international university, and one of the leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms, and a political analyst for Central Television. And it's clear to everyone why organizations of which the Mayor of Moscow is a leader enjoy priority in getting buildings and sometimes even occupy them by force. It doesn't matter that the law prohibits pluralizing. Gavriil Kharitonovich is a law-giver unto himself.

What's happened to Moscow democrats? There are two possible answers. Either leaders proved too weak to resist pressure from the old apparat and that of circumstances, or they have given themselves up to the exercise of power, and their convictions are changing as they develop a taste for power.

Most probably, both versions are correct. Consider, for instances, the Mayoralty's recent decision about privatization of housing and retail trade in Moscow. What are the priority interests of the old nomenclatura which was granted apartments in the centre of Moscow? Of course, they would prefer a free-of-charge privatization – this is precisely the decision made by the Mayor.

And what would salesmen like to have? Right, they would like to have their shops free of charge, without having to pay anything to other Muscovites. This is precisely what the Mayor did when he handed over to them the state (i.e., all Muscovites') property pratically free (1 thousand rubles per square meter is nothing considering the real market price for shop premises).

These are obvious concessions to the big wigs with speeches about democracy and market in the background. Besides, both decisions are in flagrant violation of Russian laws and the resolutions of the Moscow City Soviet.

Our democratic movement proved strong enough to overthrow communism, but it is still too weak to lead the country to a path of civilized development.

Alexander Lukin

REPORTING FROM THE LINE

For a pass to the rich men's world...

The line for the privatized city and municipal shops, public repair and public catering establishments resembles any other line in that it is very nervous

Even shop employees who are going to buy a shop from the Moscow Administration behave in the line like all other citizens of the country, expressing their indignation with those who have created that crush in the Privatization Centre by having failed to provide enough space and personnel; they are not sure the "merchandise" is worth the mess because nothing is known about taxation and not everything is clear about prices. However, they fear most of all that they will be late for sales – applications must be advanced within a week's time.

These people don't seem to be lined up for a pass to the rich men's world. Where is a former Moscow merchant's imposing appearance? Hardly has the attendant stepped off from the entrance to the stair as ladies and gentlemen of various ages who have gathered there in attendance rush up the stair with enviable speed hoping that legal advisors on the upper floor will explain to them – if they know it themselves – the meaning of a document signed by Gavriil Popov. For instance, is the Fisher–Hunter society an association or an agency? It's a question of life and death. Or what is "premises up to 150 square meters"? Trading premises alone or including toilet-rooms and storage facilities? One more vitally important question, and Legion is their name.

However, the majority don't want to waste their precious time on lawyers and seek information right in the line for forms (36 rubles a set) or for the possibility to return them filled in (1,500 rubles as a fee for the services rendered by the Center). Those seeking information mostly find additional reasons for anxiety – authorities change their mind almost every other day.

Squabbles in the line break out every now and then, especially when one has to come up to the same clerk a number of times for new stamps and seals on the same document.

A journalist's questions arouse apprehension because of the habit of maintaining semi-illicit relations in the sphere of trade and other communal services. Yet complaints flow profusely. Some complain that the Mayor's decree was published only in *Moskovsky Komsomolets* – where will you get the required issue now? Others complain about intrigues of the higher administration which urgently sacks enthusiasts of privatization and tries to split work collectives in order to delay the process of registration so that the enterprise in question will fall into the category of escheated ones and be sold by auction.

However, in this line there are some who behave with calm confidence in final success.

"We know the risks we run." – "You run a restaurant?" – "Yes." – "Where have you got the money to buy the premises?" – "Personal savings." – "Has anybody tried to take a loan from the bank?" – "No use trying, only losing time. Better borrow from those who have money. Such people are not rare nowadays." – "You think you'll be able to supply Muscovites better than the state? You know where you will get the foodstuffs?" – "For the timebeing, from the same sources. But when wholesale storehouses are privatized..."

The people in the line have little idea about how they are going to manage with their newly acquired property and alleviate their clients' plight. For the moment, the problem of acquiring this property is enough of a headache.

Vitaly Sobolev

Московская Международная
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Waking up the memories

It was a surreal sight. A sonorous male voice was singing the Russian song *Don't Wake Up My Memories* in the absolutely vacant Odeonplatz next to the brightly illuminated Feldherrnhalle, the place where Hitler started his 1923 putsch. I approached the street singer to find out that he was a Moscow composer who tried to make an extra mark in Germany. The topic of this article is not emigration, however. It's memories.

In the morning of the same day the whole of Germany took to the streets heeding the call of dozens of public organizations to protest against the dangerous political phenomenon of xenophobia. This is an old phenomenon with roots back in the Nazi past, but it has recently been given new impetus. Moreover, xenophobia is perfectly logical and understandable. When a massive influx of money-thirsty foreigners invades a prosperous country, it is always irritating. About twenty years ago the Federal Republic suffered the first onset of xenophobia then directed against the Turkish, Yugoslavian and Greek gastarbeiters. Today, the foreigners are not even guests. They come uninvited by the thousands claiming asylum which the Federal Constitution guarantees to foreigners. Isn't it disgusting?

Lev Bezymensky

The political phenomena which have a logical explanation are the hardest to fight. That is why xenophobia has already become a part of everyday life in Germany. However, the current outburst of xenophobic sentiment in Germany has a number of specific features. First of all, it often assumes violent forms: beatings, pogroms, even killings. Secondly, the advocates of xenophobia are making direct references to the traditions of Nazism. Thirdly, xenophobic sentiments are mostly encountered in the new lands of the Federal Republic which used to be the "stronghold of socialism and internationalism."

All this made me shudder when I arrived from prosperous Munich to not-so-prosperous Moscow and learned about the sentiments among the Moscow taxi drivers. The situation in Moscow seemed painfully similar to what I had just seen in Germany. In this country too, the hatred for aliens is understandable and logical. How can people fail to start looking for culprits if nothing goes right in this poor country? Like in East Germany, in the Soviet Union the idea of internationalism was so abused and distorted that it generated something entirely different: nationalism, chauvinism and xenophobia.

The virus of ethnic hatred has already infected this society. Its ideologues who cultivated the hatred for a certain "small people" in their pseudo-patriotic publications can now harvest the fruit of their efforts. They started with the Jews, but today there seem to be more "small peoples" than big ones. The country is ablaze with ethnic hatred and ethnic violence.

What are we doing about this? At least the Germans are concerned. On that day 300,000 Germans took to the streets to protest against the new threat. I do not think as many people would have taken to the streets in Russia or the Ukraine. Naturally, the new leaders of Russia and other republics have more urgent matters to attend to. They call on their citizens to gather for meetings for different reasons. Unfortunately, so far no new political party has bothered to speak up against nationalism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism. On the other hand, the preachers of ethnic hatred have survived after the August revolution and are doing just fine now. Moreover, they have even managed to associate themselves with the victorious forces: Boris Yeltsin went as far as to commend the xenophobic and anti-Semitic society Pamyat, however ironically. In his turn, Mr. Vasilyev, the Pamyat leader, has drawn conclusions from Yeltsin's smiles and is calling for its Black Hundred to come out of the trenches.

Do Soviet has-beens have a future?

Ironically, after the August revolution's crushing blow to the conservative forces, they are emerging more powerful and more organized. The number of national-patriotic and simply fascist groups, parties and movements is growing. The notoriously famous TV reporter from St. Petersburg, Alexander Nevzorov has convened the first meeting of the Nashi movement illuminated by the light of torches (the sight evoked uninvited memories of Nazi Fackelzugs). The word Nashi (Our People) which Nevzorov put into circulation to define "the true citizens of this country" has already become the name of a political movement. One can only thank Nevzorov for finding a good name: nobody wants to be known as a Nazi, but to be a Nashi is a different thing. The seeds of mutual hatred may bring about the harvest of mutual destruction.

The monstrous Nazi genocide (plus all the other cases of genocide that are recorded in history) should have been preserved in human genetic memory. Memories must be awakened. Can we really do that? I do not think so. If it were possible, the recent demonstration in Moscow in support of the arrested coup leaders could not have happened. The horrors of Nazism cannot be remembered when such a demonstration is led by a Member of Parliament and accompanied by a military brass band. It is impossible to remember what Huderian's tanks did to Europe and the Auschwitz victims, if one forgets Yazov's tanks in Moscow and the blood of the three August heroes. Don't people ever learn?

...I dropped a coin into the guitar case of the Munich street singer. A day later I did the same in a Moscow underpass where a small band of musicians was playing Haydn.

ВОЛГА В ДНЕПР

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THE PICTURE SPEAKS LOUDER THAN WORDS

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Can Moscow afford to be a naval superpower?

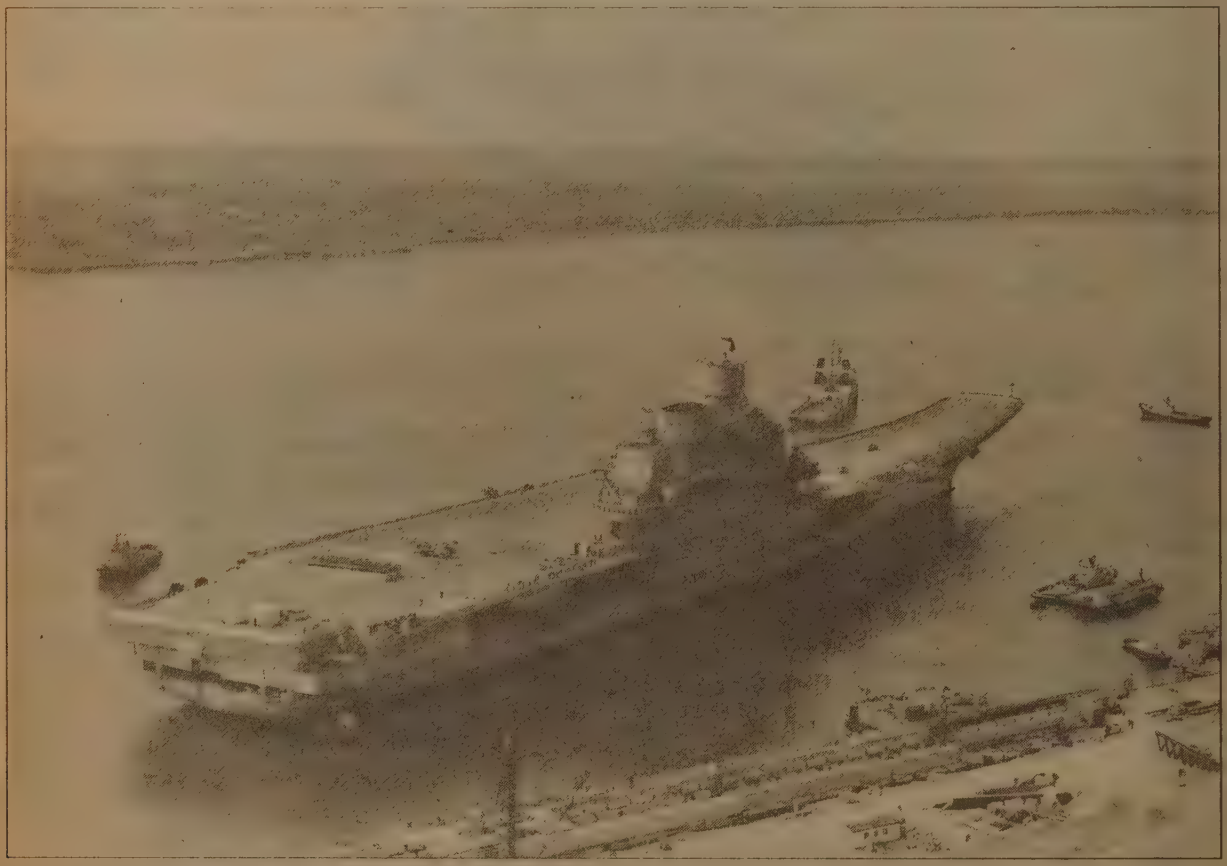
Andrei Aksenenko,
Cand. Sc. (History),
Eduard Gams,
USSR people's deputy

Many questions appeared after the aircraft-carrying cruiser *Admiral Kuznetsov* left the Black Sea allegedly sailing for its port of call in the Arctic where the Soviet North Fleet is stationed. How could Turkey have allowed the passage of the carrier through the international straits in violation of the Montreux Convention of 1936 banning the passage of aircraft carriers through the Black Sea straits? Does the Soviet Union really need heavy aircraft carriers of the *Admiral Kuznetsov* class?

It is a luxury for an impoverished nation to have a great sea-going Navy...

The answer to the first question is not really difficult. The Soviet Navy declared the *Admiral Kuznetsov* not as an aircraft carrier, but as a heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser which carries no first-strike bombers. The Turks were reluctant to object and let the ship pass. As for the other question, to answer it one has do delve deep into history, geography, economics and other spheres.

It is evident today that there is more to the Soviet programme of building aircraft-carriers than just the creation of a new costly weapons system. This dimension is not only connected with the future of the Soviet Navy, but also affects the national interests of this country. However, the heavily guarded secret of why the Soviet Union needs carriers and a great Navy is not really very difficult to solve. It is enough to have a look at the map to see that this country's geographical position is highly disadvantageous as regards the passage of capital ships into oceans. The passages to the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans go through narrow straits controlled by foreign countries which can block them any time. In this case, the Soviet Navy will either be locked in its bases or isolated from them.



The aircraft carrier *Admiral Kuznetsov*: too costly to afford

TASS photo

The only more or less free passage is the Arctic Ocean, but the heavy ice that stays there for the better part of the year constitutes a formidable navigation problem. Besides, the Arctic Ocean cannot be viewed as a reliable route to either the Atlantic or the Pacific. In this sense, the situation with the Soviet Navy's passage to oceans in the north is no better than those in the west, east or south.

A look at the map

At the same time, the disadvantages of our geography become advantages when it comes to the access of foreign ships from the oceans to the Soviet shores. It is evident that the narrow straits and the Arctic ice offer unique defense opportunities which allow even a small Navy to successfully repel any foreign Navy from the home waters. Only one condition should be met: the Soviet Union must have close political and economic relations with the countries which control the straits and sea lanes.

It would seem that nature itself suggests a version of a thrifty and effective naval policy. Moreover, nature's advice should have been taken as early as two hundred years ago when the Russian state completed the first stage of its struggle to get its way to the Baltic and Black seas and repelled Sweden's and Turkey's attempts to get back what they had lost. However, even at that time Russian rulers and admirals were already dreaming of bringing their ships to the oceans via the Black Sea and Baltic straits so that Russia could become a naval power by its own right. Russia brought diplomatic pressure to bear on the countries that controlled the straits, and demanded that Russian ships be allowed to pass through the straits at any time, regardless of the international situation and positions of other European powers. Naturally, at the same time Russia wanted to see the straits closed for foreign ships. In response to these demands, European powers forgot their differences and forged a coalition whose priority was to solve the problem of the straits. They suggested that all states be given equal rights of navigation: either all powers would refuse to use the straits for the passage of warships, or all powers would agree to complete freedom of naval navigation through the straits. Naturally, Russia could not be content with this, because in both cases Russia would have had to keep its Navy close to shore. The Russian administration devised a plan of forceful solution of the problem and of securing free passage to the oceans in the same way. Peter the Great and Catherine the Great secured Russia's access to the seas.

This was the beginning of the struggle that has been exhausting the nation for a century and a half already.

Political illusions and grave military strategic mistakes have cost Russia three bloody wars: the Crimean War of 1835-56, the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-78 and the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-05. The Black Sea straits which Nicholas I and Alexander II tried to seize remained in the hands of the Ottoman Empire. Nor did Russia succeed in securing an outlet to the Pacific. The First World War and the Civil War resulted in foreign occupation of national shores of Russia and virtual elimination of the Russian Navy. Several dozen warships exhausted by the 1918 voyage from Revel (Tallinn) and then blocked in Kronstadt were all that remained of the Russian Naval might.

The official Soviet historiography describes the blocking of warships in Kronstadt by Western Navies as a purely anti-Soviet action. However, it must be regarded as an organic continuation and logical conclusion of the events that took place during WWI. Secret documents of the Russian foreign ministry demonstrate that in 1915 Russia hastened too much to demand that in exchange "for its fighting to the end" the Western allies transfer to it the Black Sea straits and adjacent territories. The allies did not forgive Russia this demarche and as soon as the Civil War offered them a good chance, they taught a severe lesson to the new regime.

The Bolsheviks take over

After the October Revolution, the Soviet government continued the search of ways to get warships out to the oceans. Stalin intended to accomplish what the czars failed to do: to make the Arctic navigable and open the Northern Sea Route. At the same time, the Belomorsko-Baltiysky Canal was built connecting the Baltic Sea with the White Sea. As a result, it became possible in 1936 to redeploy warships from Kronstadt to Vladivostok in the Far East and in 1940 to redeploy a submarine from Polyarny to Vladivostok. The strategic intention was to demonstrate to the whole world that the Soviet Union had found the route to the world's oceans.

However, Stalin miscalculated. The funds and efforts spent on the exploration of the Soviet North did not produce the expected strategic military advantages. After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the areas of the straits were immediately blocked, just like during WWI, and the Black Sea, Baltic and Pacific fleets of the USSR found themselves bocked in their bases, some of which were seized by the enemy. The North Fleet could not be active either. The North Fleet's action in the war was limited to coast defence and support to Allied convoys. About 400,000 men had to leave their ships to fight in infantry. There was absolutely no question of any strategic interaction of the fleets in high seas.

It would seem that the Soviet Union had already had a sufficient number of negative experiences. However, hardly had the nation's war wounds healed, when everything started up again. Moreover, the actions of the Soviet Union clearly contradicted the lessons of the past. In the early 1960s Soviet warships were not only deployed on the oceans, but even stationed there on a permanent basis. With time the Soviet Navy became so self-confident outside the strait zones that in May 1970 the Soviet Defence Minister allowed himself to declare that the Soviet Union had become "a global naval power."

How could this have happened? The explanation is simple. During that period the military-political leadership of the USSR had acquired nuclear weapons as well as aircraft and missiles capable of delivering nuclear munitions to very remote targets. The temptation was to use the intimidating force of the superweapons to solve Rusasia's centuries-old problems in the straights.

The Soviet government announced that it had to deploy its fleets on the oceans because of national security considerations.

The real reasons for the deployment were quite different. The problem was not the defence of home shores, but the implementation of a foreign policy doctrine which had nothing in common with the real national interests. Soviet warships started to be based in the Carib-

Russian warriors roll their boats getting ready to attack Byzantium

Drawing from the first Russian chronicle

bean, Mediterranean, Red and South China seas, the western part of the Indian Ocean and in the southern Atlantic off Africa, thus rendering support to socialist and developing nations which the Soviet Union sponsored out of ideological considerations.

That is why even after the nuclear confrontation touched off by the 1961 missile crisis started to decline and the whole world realized that further confrontation could mean a nuclear catastrophe, the Soviet government failed to take any steps to eliminate the dangerous naval confrontation. In an attempt to justify its unwillingness to withdraw the ships back to home shores, the Navy High Command put forward a theory according to which the Western opponents of the USSR had shifted the centre of gravity to naval warfare and thus the main threat for the USSR was instituted by US and NATO Navies. This allegation was not exactly accurate, to say the least. In this case the Soviet leadership was only too willing to swallow the propaganda bait supplied by the enemy which wanted the USSR to start pumping military resources to the least effective sphere. As for NATO, primarily the United States, in the early 1960s they started to focus their efforts on advanced weapons systems in aviation, air and ABM defence and missile and space programmes.

They came to the base and it wasn't there...

Trying hard to achieve naval parity with the NATO countries, the Soviet state spent a great deal of its defence budget on naval buildups, but the desired goal was never reached.

This is hardly surprising in light of the fact that large-scale and expensive programmes were to be accomplished. First of all, it became necessary to radically increase the production of ocean-going warships, surface and under-water alike, and to resume the war-interrupted programmes of building aircraft carriers which were to become key elements of Soviet high seas task forces. Secondly, it was necessary to establish a worldwide system of naval bases and ports which until very recently were located in Cuba, Libya, Syria, Ethiopia, Northern Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, Vietnam and the Seychelles. The third task was to accumulate such reserves that could allow to unseal the straits under any circumstances and help provide for coordination between the country and its ocean task forces.

All these task were being solved against the backdrop of a highly unfavourable military and political situation, which only added to the cost of the effort, exorbitant as it was. For example, the country had to build strategic and attack subs in the Arctic and the Far East, in unfavourable climates and far from the main industrial centres, because the international accords on the straits demanded that submarines pass the Black Sea and Baltic straits running on the surface, which was unacceptable from the viewpoint of secrecy of the submarine departure.

Even very approximate evaluations of the expenditure on the Navy seem exorbitant. The development of the submarine fleet alone has cost the nation about the same amount of money as the entire Soviet space programme has since the time it was started. Added to this should be the cost of building surface warships, including aircraft carriers, plus the tremendous amount of free assistance that was given to the client states, in exchange for their consent to harbour Soviet naval forces. The nation also had to pay through the nose for the formation of the amphibious forces and for the maintenance of naval theatres of operations and to spend hard currency to pay for permanent ocean stationing of task forces and submarines.

Nonetheless, despite all the tremendous spending, the experiment with making the Soviet Navy ocean-going was not really a success, to put it mildly. The Navy High Command was obviously in a hurry when they declared the USSR a naval superpower and finally had to withdraw the warships to the home shores. Why did this happen?

The main reason was that this country was unable to allocate even the minimum of funds needed for the creation of a full-scale ocean-going Navy. By its composition and combat capabilities the Soviet Navy could not even be compared to the similar NATO forces. This fact has been repeatedly confirmed by both Soviet and foreign experts. To upgrade the Soviet Navy, the country would have had to pay tens or even hundreds of times more than was initially invested.

Besides, with the fall of a number of pro-Soviet and pro-socialist regimes the problem of keeping Soviet naval bases and ports in their respective countries became very troublesome. The Soviet Navy has already started to leave some such bases, for instance Dahlak in Ethiopia and Cam Ranh in Vietnam. It is evident that the loss of at least some bases, the number of which was insufficient even in happier times, will make the continued Soviet naval presence in the world's oceans impossible. Besides, this presence will lose its main motivation – the ideological one.

In addition, it is still impossible to secure a reliable passage to the ocean. Today no one can guarantee that in the event of a conventional conflict or sharp aggravation of the international situation, the Soviet Navy will not be split into isolated and highly vulnerable fragments. Moreover, in the light of current changes in the Soviet Union it is difficult to say what republic will actually operate the fleets tomorrow – Russia, the Ukraine,

or perhaps Georgia. Meanwhile, the keys from passages to the ocean continue to be in someone else's hands. In these conditions Soviet warships deployed in the oceans will always face the threat of being locked out as has repeatedly been the case already.

This applies in full measure not only to the surface fleet, but to submarines as well. According to the research carried out by the Naval Institute of the USA, Soviet submarines will be completely eliminated by the 12th–15th day of a conventional war. The purely technological disadvantages of these ships are not the only reason for this. The main reason is the impossibility of providing for the subs' secret departure. As they leave the straits and narrow sea lanes passages, Soviet subs will be met by hostile submarine-killers which will either shoot them point-black or destroy them in the ensuing chase. In this sense all speculation about the necessity of Soviet naval presence on the oceans does not correspond to the real state of things. This presence is too unreliable and illusory to be taken seriously.

The "nuclear umbrella" which used to cover the Soviet Navy's putting out to high seas has lost all its meaning. The war in the Persian Gulf demonstrated that it was easy to neutralize even the most advanced delivery vehicles. Actually, the situation that has taken shape on the sea approaches to Soviet shores is very similar to how things used to stand before the advent of the nuclear age, but the current situation has a number of specific features which correspond to the new round of history and the scientific and technological progress. Both the West and the Soviet Union have nuclear weapons, but unlike the former, the latter has no effective anti-nuclear defence. The presence of Soviet surface ships and submarines outside the straits can be halted any time and with no hope of reconstructing it. In these conditions there is no point in continuing the military-strategic competition with the United States and NATO in the oceans, provided, of course, we do not adhere to suicidal policies.

Keys to far-off shores?

The historical facts confirm that Russia's and, later, the Soviet Union's desire to deploy its warships in high seas has never been motivated by real national interests, such as defence considerations, development of international trade and cultural-confessional communication. The state was perfectly able to use other ways to secure such interests. The defence of the home shores was effectively provided for by the concerted efforts of a powerful Navy and other arms and services of the armed forces, and by the establishment of stable and even friendly relations with the states controlling the sea approaches to the Soviet Union. Trade and cultural communication are as effectively provided for by the development of merchant and passenger navigation which has never met with any restrictions.

If Moscow wants to build a new state and create a new system of international relations, it will have to revise and learn the lessons of history instead of ignoring or distorting them as has usually been done by the Soviet historical science. No one is going to defame the Navy or forget its glorious traditions. However, it is necessary to take into consideration all the factors and to define the Navy's right place in the structure of the armed forces and its role in the national security system.

These factors necessitate a return to the defensive naval doctrine and a reduction of the ocean deployment of warships to cases when they are transferred from one base to another or making courtesy calls at foreign ports.

Soviet task forces based off foreign shores, submarines that control international sea routes and threaten the NATO territory must be withdrawn to the home shores, because the country cannot maintain them on their present stations nor effectively control the straits. If this county does not do this voluntarily, very soon it may be forced to do so.

It is also necessary to carry out a competent analysis of the allegations that the main threat to the nation is coming from the sea and to reject the false premise that the main efforts to enhance national security must be focused on the ocean.

The Soviet Navy will have to be reorganized within reasonable limits so that it can effectively combine high combat capabilities and geographical advantages. In naval policies, the main emphasis must be placed on military-political, rather than on purely military aspects. These must stipulate a resolute change of relations with the states controlling international straits and sea lanes passages, in particular, the United States, Japan, Turkey, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Broad and mutually profitable economic ties will make Soviet shores friendly and attractive for these countries, thus enhancing the mutual interest in safeguarding security at sea through joint efforts. This way is very advantageous in many respects, but neither Russia nor the Soviet Union have actually tried to embark on it. Today there is a unique chance to do so.

If this way is chosen, the debate about what kinds of ships the Soviet Navy needs will be resolved by itself. This will in no way restrict the freedom of R/D programmes for the Navy, but two natural conditions must necessarily be observed. The first condition is that the scale and quality of such research programmes should not question the sincerity of this country's defensive intentions. Secondly, it is necessary to strictly observe all the international commitments which the Soviet Union has undertaken or will undertake concerning the passage of its warships through the straits. In this connection, the nation should learn the lesson of the situation which the USSR has found itself in after it started the costly and meaningless programme of building aircraft-carriers in Nikolayev on the Black Sea. If aircraft-carriers are really needed for the defence of the country, the choice has to be made: either to raise the question about the revision of the 1936 Convention, being aware of the new security problems that may arise in the south of the country, or to transfer the construction effort to a different region as was the case with the building of strategic and attack submarines. But where will the money for this come from?

* * *

As they struggled their way towards oceans, our ancestors wanted to make their country rich, prosperous and enlightened. The quest for mythical keys to somebody else's riches slowed down this development and made it impossible to successfully solve these patriotic and vital tasks. In the past two centuries this country has remained a largely unexplored and wild continent. Isn't it time we started to pay attention to our own country, not far-off oceans?

FAR EAST

A bomb for Kim Il Sung

Will the "great leader" have his own bomb? Who will oppose him and who will help him?

Igor Belikov

The desire to have super-weapons is characteristic of dictatorships. They see in the possession of such weapons the ultimate result of their efforts in beefing up the country's military muscle and turning it into a global or at least regional super-power. The programme of building the "Hussein bomb" in Iraq was guided by ambitions of this kind. For other dictatorships the very possibility of nuclear blackmail of their opponents and the world community as a whole seemed the only chance of retaining their power amidst a deep internal crisis and growing international isolation. For the sake of attaining this goal the dictator spared neither human efforts nor the resources of the poor country. In the past few years an example of the "bomb-instead-of-bread" policy has been provided by North Korea.

Up to 15 kg of plutonium a year

For several decades after the 1950-1953 war the Korean Peninsula has remained a zone of potential danger of the use of nuclear weapons. The danger has been associated with the presence of American troops which had tactical nuclear ammunition. The Pentagon's policy of nuclear deterrence and South Korea's negative image (a "military dictatorship" and "puppet regime") widely spread among the world public for many years gave the North Korean leadership ample grounds for its propaganda. Pyongyang appeared as a champion of the idea of turning the peninsula into a nuclear free zone and put forward numerous and outwardly attractive peace initiatives deliberately unacceptable to Washington and Seoul and therefore discarded by them offhand.

Pyongyang evidently decided that its propagandist efforts alone were not enough. In the 1960s, North Korea began to work out its own nuclear programme. The initial steps in this direction did not excite apprehension. A department for the training of nuclear physicists was set up at Pyongyang University and an experimental nuclear research base founded. The people who fled North Korea in subsequent years asserted that the Soviet researchers sent to work there played a noticeable part in the development of this base. With their assistance the nuclear programme became more sound and grew in scope. North Korea reached agreements with some African countries on the regular supply of uranium needed for experiments.

In the 1980s, however, the programme assumed an obviously militarist character. In 1987, an experimental reactor was launched in Yongbyon, 90 km north of Pyongyang. Experts estimate that it can produce up to 15 kg of plutonium a year. It was reported that plutonium processing plants were under construction in secret places, near the town of Pakchon, for instance. In 1985, Pyongyang made a widely publicized step by joining the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Nevertheless, it has not yet fulfilled a commitment envisaged in the treaty. Within 18 months a country must sign a protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency on conducting international inspections at plants connected with its nuclear programme. North Korea has not met the commitment, justifying its refusal by the presence of American nuc-

Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il seem to guide a very important project – the development of a nuclear bomb?

Photo from the magazine Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

lear weapons in the south of the peninsula.

Until recently the intensified nuclear research in North Korea did not attract world attention, and it was not surprising. In conditions of nuclear confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States other potential dangers in this respect looked insignificant. However, the end of this confrontation in the early nineties reframed the question of a nuclear challenge on the part of small countries. The United States demonstrated its readiness to react to this challenge in a tough manner. In my opinion, one of the reasons for the heavy bombing of Iraq during Operation Desert Storm was a report that Saddam Hussein was very close to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. After Iraq the United States focused its attention on North Korea.

Seoul's preventive measures

In the last few months the Western press has carried many reports indicating that Pyongyang has stepped up its nuclear programme. For proof of this newspapers publish satellite photographs of known and suspected nuclear research centres and the evidence of people who fled North Korea. Fears are also voiced about the modernization of the Soviet-devised Scud missile in North Korea, bringing its flying range to 1,000 km. All this arouses concern, because the Kim Il Sung regime is having a hard time. The international isolation of North Korea makes itself felt. The archaic and extensive economy is completely worn out. Besides, the time is not far distant when Kim Il Sung will hand power over to his son, the "beloved leader" Kim Jong Il. The very survival of the 45-year-old regime is in doubt. Needless to say, the authorities can go to any length to prolong its agony.

Pyongyang's nuclear prospects are a source of grave concern for Seoul. The South Korean leadership has more than once discussed a possible reaction to this threat and ways of countering it. President Roh Tae Woo has warned Pyongyang several times that it can suffer from "a tragic accident" at its nuclear research installations if it stubbornly continues to reject international inspections. Early this year South Korea's Defence Minister even threatened to send commandos against these installations. Though it was announced later that his statement was "wrongly interpreted," Seoul apparently considered in earnest the possibility of a preventive action of the type carried out by Israel against the Osirak nuclear centre in Iraq in 1981. An operation of this kind could naturally lead to grave consequences for the population of both countries (the Yongbyon reactor is situated 90 km away from Pyongyang and 300 km away from Seoul) and harm the international reputation of South Korea. It is apparently for this reason that Seoul has dropped the idea. A balanced political decision was taken. Last month President Roh Tae Woo declared South Korea's intention to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes as well as not to manufacture, keep or deploy nuclear weapons in the country.

All appropriate installations of South Korea were declared open to international inspections. President Roh Tae Woo made it clear that the American nuclear weapons would be withdrawn from South Korea next year and urged Pyongyang to follow Seoul's example with regard to international inspections. North Korea's reaction to this statement was virtually negative.

As a result, the situation has taken a turn for the worse. During his recent visit to Seoul, Tokyo and Beijing, US Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney did not conceal intentions to impel Pyongyang to agree to international inspections of its nuclear installations. Cheney spoke in a tough manner. He hinted that if North Korea did not agree to inspection the United States would consider the possibility of taking any measures.

True, some experts are pessimistic about inspections. There has been word of major components of North Korea's nuclear programme being hidden in secret underground caves situated in mountainous areas difficult to access. The experience of the work of international inspectors in Iraq shows that it is not easy to discover all important nuclear facilities even in conditions when the ruling regime suffered a military defeat and is compelled to make substantial concessions. It

will certainly be very difficult to carry out inspections in North Korea. Even if some agreements are reached most unpredictable steps can be expected of the present regime.

Nevertheless, I think that neither extreme measures nor unpredictable steps will be taken. There is still hope for the use of diplomatic and especially economic levers. In particular, Japan, which is obviously not interested in North Korea gaining access to nuclear weapons, has long been holding talks with Pyongyang on the establishment of diplomatic relations, the payment of a compensation for the colonial period, and the possibility of investing in the North Korean economy. Thus, Tokyo has a rather powerful lever of influence. True, Japan's interests do not coincide with those of South Korea, which also wants to prevent Pyongyang from gaining access to nuclear weapons but seeks to consolidate its own positions in its relations with North Korea. Seoul apparently hopes to repeat the German example. It is jealous of the possibility of other countries, especially Japan, exerting greater influence on Pyongyang. Tokyo is hardly enthusiastic over the prospect of the emergence of a strong united Korea. Beijing also pursues a dual policy. On the one hand, it does not want to assume responsibility for the possible consequences of Kim Il Sung's nuclear programme. On the other hand, it is obviously worried about the prospect of the weakening of its diplomatic positions and the loss of an ideological ally.

Moscow keeps silent

All these diplomatic manoeuvres, accompanied by sabre-rattling, are being conducted in immediate proximity to the Soviet borders. However, the Union's Foreign Ministry keeps silent.

Of couse, it is very difficult today to foresee the future of the all-Union foreign office. But what is the stand of the Russian Foreign Ministry? Though the Foreign Ministry of Russia supported President Roh Tae Woo's statement that South Korea is not going to have nuclear weapons, it would be interesting, however, to hear answers to a number of questions in this connection. Does Russia consider itself bound by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and North Korea, which is liable to automatic prolongation every five years? The Treaty provides for military aid to Pyongyang in the event of "imperialist aggression" against North Korea. It would also be interesting to know whether the air and sea blockade proposed by some experts with the aim of impelling Pyongyang to accept the international inspection of its nuclear research facilities would be regarded as an act of "imperialist aggression." In addition the Treaty provides for military cooperation between the USSR and North Korea. Are the two countries cooperating in this field and in what ways?

Experts guess at the degree of militarization of Pyongyang's nuclear programme. However, no statement has been made by Soviet nuclear scientists who worked in North Korea for a long time. It is not clear whether they continue to take part in Pyongyang's nuclear programme. It seems that Soviet experts have nothing to say on the Korean nuclear question. There is another factor which is disquieting for the world public. After the drastic reduction of military research in the nuclear programmes of the former USSR the "released" nuclear scientists can go to work in Third World countries. This danger was noted at a recent press conference by none other than Yevgeny Primakov, Director of the Central Intelligence Service. Of course, North Korea does not look tempting as a possible place of work in comparison with, say, Argentina, Iraq, Pakistan and even Nigeria. However, for a man with a monthly pay of 400 rubles (the average wage in the nuclear research branches) even North Korea may seem attractive. Therefore, Moscow can be directly related to the possible alarming development of events in the Korean Peninsula.

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Is the PLO forsaking its principles?

Before my Arab friends refused to meet and talk with me for my article "The legends of Zionism" (No. 40/91) I was invited to dinner by Nabil Amr, the ambassador of the State of Palestine. Facing me at the table sat a reporter from the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (Soviet Russia).

"We are reproached with sticking to our principles," he said. "Yes, we do not forsake and will never forsake them."

The Palestinians applauded, while I wondered what principles must not be given up. If the *Sovetskaya Rossiya* reporter had in mind universal human principles written down in the Bible and the Koran, I agree with him. As for political principles, they must be renounced in the course of events. Otherwise, there is the danger of becoming a museum exhibit. The Constitution must not be permanent either. It should always be provisional.

Dmitry Zgersky

In vain did the Palestinians applaud the conservative from *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, since the Palestine Liberation Organization itself shows an example of a sound dialectical change of its political principles. At the time of its birth in May 1964 the PLO stood up for the annihilation of the "Zionist entity," and the word "Israel" was banned in Arab countries. Accordingly, Tel Aviv referred to the PLO as a terrorist organization. Ten years later the PLO abandoned its bellicose principle and began to advocate the founding of the Palestinian state alongside Israel, not instead of it.

Today the PLO demonstrates not simply a flexible but a rather constructive approach to a Middle East settlement. It is not a secret that the PLO acts as an adviser to the Palestinian delegation at the peace talks. At present it meets with understanding the Israeli plan of step-by-step granting independence to the Palestinians in the occupied territories. In a conversation with the author in 1989 Premier Itzhak Shamir said that he advocated first an autonomy for Palestine to see whether the extremists would stop their raids on Israel. If the Palestinians prove in deeds that they can be good neighbours, Israel would be prepared to go further in expanding the independence of Arab Palestine. The Premier did not deny the possibility of the existence of an independent Palestine.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat has agreed to establish a two-year transitional period for the occupied territories.

Nevertheless, the Israeli leaders remain intolerant of the PLO, considering it a terrorist organization. Before the Madrid meeting this stand of Israel could be explained because one of the PLO organizations, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine headed by George Habash, held irreconcilable and openly extremist positions. It is because of the difference between the PLO's words and deeds that Tel Aviv did not take seriously any peaceloving statements by Yasser Arafat.

"How can we believe his statements about the recognition of Israel and his peaceful intentions when after such pronouncements the people of George Habash carried out a terrorist act on the territory of Israel?" the head of the department for the prevention of terrorism told me in Israel.

In spite of current squabbles the peace process in the Middle East continues

After the Madrid meeting began the Popular Front suspended its activity in the PLO, and let's hope it did so for good because the actions of this organization can only be described as provocative. Some time ago the PLO got rid of another terrorist organization led by Jebril – the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Chief command). After the Madrid meeting Jebril advised the leaders of Arab countries which took part in the peace forum "to draw lessons from history and understand that those who neglect the interests of their peoples and follow America's suit will be punished."

In general, Yasser Arafat has quite a few "wise teachers" who seem to know better what the Palestinians should do. The Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi sang the old tune again. Together with the Iranian leadership he opposed the peace conference. These leaders have never fought with Israel. However, they like to watch the valiant struggle of the fraternal Palestinian people, evidently to its complete self-annihilation.

The charges of extremists that the PLO grovels before the aggressor have obviously a provocative character and by no means accord with the truth. No one grovels before another in the peace process. The parties involved in it look for reasonable compromises. On the eve of the Washington meeting the Palestinians evidently demonstrated greater flexibility by renouncing some of the obsolete principles for the sake of peace. On the contrary, the Israelis seem to have decided to play on principles. The failure of the Israeli delegation to arrive in Washington by December 4 threatens to wreck the second round of the talks. But, I think, the Arabs will easily forgive this misunderstanding if the Israelis bring pleasant surprises with them.

You can't live without money

How to make industry produce what society really needs, without centralized planning and state orders? Wall Street financiers share their experience

Yevgeny Rusakov,
New Times correspondent in New York

According to the latest archeological data, barter, something very popular lately, was actively carried on 40,000 years ago. True, then it didn't involve salami and spare parts, but shells, flint tips and bone knives.

Pay in currency for a car?!

Who knows, maybe our ancestor felt the need for some general equivalent in the form of those very same shells. In any case the inhabitants of the former USSR, personally felt very well what is meant to live in a world with symbolic money which has lost nine tenths of its value and continues to plunge after the heroic announcement about the forthcoming free pricing.

It would be naive to think that top currency is just a bag with pretty crispy bills and coins.

"Currency is basically used for individual retail transactions," explains the Vice-President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Peter Bakstansky, with whom I was meeting for the second time in order to fully understand the wisdom of the Federal Reserve System (FRS). "I never think of buying with currency a car or even a refrigerator. Currency has risks to carry around: there's no name on it. You can't prove it was yours. Checking account money is just as real as currency. So checks have a great deal of use. But the biggest variety of money is the electronic accounts which are used by companies and various establishments in millions of transactions. In this case it is not even necessary to send a check, the computers instantaneously transfer huge sums of money from one account into another. The regulation of cash isn't looked on as an instrument of credit and monetary policy. We issue as many, say twenty dollar bills, as are called for at a given moment. It would be ridiculous if there was not enough money to pay people with cash. If the bills and coins in circulation are somewhere around 170-180 billion dollars, the electronic transfers reach 900 billion dollars a day."

Money in the broadest sense of the word is a healthy credit and monetary system and policy. I'm not talking of the economy yet. In principle a country can have relatively strong and at least acceptable hard currency even with an insignificant economy like that of Poland or Laos. But the economy can't develop if the finances are in a bad state, just as you can't build a house without a foundation.

Whatever plans Moscow now has for stabilization of the economy and going over to the market, they won't get anywhere without a more or less firm foundation – normal money and a normal credit and monetary system.

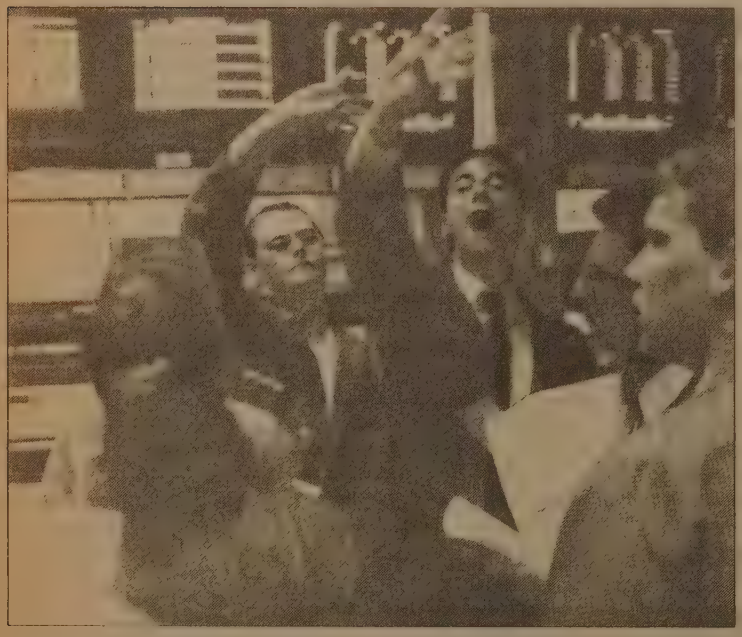
In any country one of the main props of such a foundation is the Central Bank. And in the USSR there was the "Papa," actually paternal bank – the State Bank of the USSR meticulously robbing its defenseless stepchildren. But outside the totalitarian economy and imperial policy it had totally outlived itself as well as the whole credit-financial policy of former times. The manipulations of the former premier and head financier didn't help it any more than makeup and rouge help a corpse.

It's clear to everyone there's got to be a new foundation. But what is a normal Central Bank?

Today the most powerful, modern and – what is instructive for the disintegrated Union – the most decentralized such institution is the Federal Reserve System in the USA. The Americans, with their adherence to the maximum possible freedom, especially when it comes to business, long resisted its appearance, but in 1913 after a number of financial crises and scandals they had to raise a white flag.

The invisible hand of the market

When the FRS announced lowering its discount by half a percent in the middle of September, and then



Stock-brokers at work

Photo from Fortune (USA)

in November, an impulse was felt across the country like after an earthquake. Though a relatively light one. The commercial banks lowered the cost of loans, so car dealers and building firms roused themselves in looking forward to long awaited increase in demand for cars and houses which are bought on credit and depend on the accessibility of bank loans. But it somewhat worried pensioners living on the interest from their investments and financiers fear that because of the lowering of the interest rates deposits may be withdrawn and invested in more profitable state bonds or insurance funds.

Drawing from Fortune (USA)

The discount is the rate of interest at which Central Banks grant to commercial credit and financial establishments. The banks resort to the "discount window" only in extreme circumstances and most often only take the loan out for one business day, or in Wall Street jargon, "overnight loans." The role of this governmental lifebuoy is great even for the most healthy banks which could encounter an unforseen splash of demand for cash and without backing trip up and sow panic among the population. And all in the USSR know about that: it's sufficient to remember the eve of the introduction of the new 50 and 100 ruble bills or when the savings accounts in the banks were frozen.

Fortunately for the Americans, here no one, not even the President, has the right with one stroke of the pen to dispose of the money or fate of millions of people having savings accounts with their hard earned money in them. Nor does the FRS have this right. Its only makes finely calculated actions to nudge the invisible hand of the market in the necessary direction.

The decision to lower the discount rate was made in the hopes that it would get America out of its economic slump faster. Many American economists and even the government have long been calling for the Central Bank to do so. Who would be against speeding up the tempo of economic growth? But here they also know something else. If there aren't the conditions for such growth and it is attained through speculative fever, overblown figures and the Treasury printing press, there can be very bad consequences: inflation, hyperinflation and in the end run a financial crisis. Unfortunately in Moscow these simple truths became clear only now. No matter how deep the economic, political and moral causes of the current collapse in the country now, the biggest blow in recent years was the financial breakdown and the devaluation of the ruble. The most idiotic decisions of the century of "acceleration" like the crusade against alcohol, increasing the import of equipment at the expense of the purchase of consumer goods and the adoption of social programmes not at all provided for hurt the finances worst of all. And any new economic programmes will also fall into the abyss if they aren't backed by harsh measure to buck up the ruble.

FRS responded to the calls of the people only when it could be relatively sure that warming up the economy wouldn't result in a jump in prices. The announcement of the Trade and Commerce Department that in August the retail prices rose for the third month in a row by only 2 tenths of a percent while the volume of sales fell by seven tenths of a percent was looked on as just such a guarantee.

Gold mountains on Liberty Street

The dark gray box on Liberty Street, could easily become lost among the skyscrapers and old low buildings on Wall Street. But this building stands out and not because of the arcs, portico or halls in the style of the Italian Rennaisance, but because of its massiveness and power more likely typical of the Roman style of the early Middle Ages.

The iron bars on the windows of the first floor battened down after the close of the work day, and the thick metal doors and metal detector to check the visitors, add to the strict picture of the alertness of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. In its basements lie more than 10 thousand tons of gold which is kept here by foreign banks.

But the Federal Bank of New York is famous in America and around the world not for these mountains of gold (for comparison, in the USSR, it is said there are only 240 tons stored). If the brains of the Federal Reserve System are in Washington, then its heart is here.

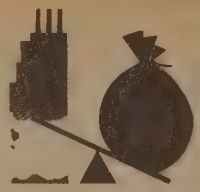
Only the Federal Reserve Bank of New York has the right to freely trade in government securities. And that trade is the most powerful lever of the Central Bank credit and monetary system of the country. Through it the level of reserves is regulated – it's the prop that keeps the commercial banks and other financial establishments from going under.

In normal countries there's no difference between cash and clearing operations. But there is a natural difference between liquid assets, that is gold, easily realizable securities and other promisary notes, and the long term loans and investments and securities which will mature at some date in the future. The liquidity, i.e. the readiness for immediate use, is one of the main indicators of a healthy credit and monetary institution (by the way, the biggest problem for the former USSR was that of liquidity: the new economic community lacked several billion dollars to pay its creditors for old debts).

In America all banks which are part of the FRS and all depository institutions since 1980 must guarantee their assets by a definite reserve of liquid assets. The level of these reserved funds, i.e. the relation between the volume of cash and all deposits is established by the Federal Reserve System. It depends on the condition and character of the banks. On the average it comes to 5-6 percent.

Setting the level of the reserves through administrative decisions is combined with the application of much more flexible and powerful market mechanisms – the selling and buying of securities in New York. The FRS regulates the size of the reserves in the credit and monetary institutions through operations on the open market and thus influences the amount of money in circulation – not currency bills, but credits and other freely realizable deposits. Roughly, buying part of the reserves, the Central Bank sells the banks means which can be used for loans and to cover it's own debts or to buy new comput-

ers for the office. And just the opposite, when it sells its government securities, the Central Bank makes the commercial institutions increase their reserved fund and lessen the amount of free money. Technically, when this is done no cash changes hands but simply the computer changes the records in banks balance.



The use of the purchase and sale of government securities as the main lever for regulating money greatly differentiates the FRS from the Central Banks in other countries. Elsewhere the state banks regulate it more directly: through raising and lowering the discount, i.e., the rate of interest at which they give loans to commercial institutions.

The point is that the market is very complicated in America: along with the large economy which stands at 5 trillion dollars, the market is very decentralized according to Peter Bakstansky. There is no one large industrial centre in the USA. True, New York is the financial capital. But Chicago and San Francisco are also financial giants. There are thirteen thousand commercial banks in the USA. In England, Germany or France up to four fifths of the assets are in the hands of several banks. They are not as big as the American banks and do business with much fewer "players." Therefore credit and monetary influence in these countries is not so oriented on the market. So we had to work out a way in which the policy of the government in this sphere could successfully interact with the very powerful market.

"Why did we choose to purchase and sell government securities," continued the Vice President. "In principle we could have used gold or even apples. But with gold, not to mention apples, there is a lot of fuss. And we would have destroyed the market having become the sole possessor of all the apples in the world."

It's amazing that such a reliable means of financial operations for the FRS created the fantastic federal debt of America. It reached more than three and a half trillion dollars of which two and some trillion was invested in freely purchased and sold securities. So far America and its government is trusted even abroad and money is invested in federal bonds, Treasury bills and the like. The investors have a double advantage: besides the quite high and guaranteed interest, income from government securities isn't taxed. And for a two trillion market of federal securities, their purchase and sale for billions of dollars is the same as a peanut for an elephant.

With such operations on the open market, the regulation of discount rates has relatively little significance, and to call it as such is very conditional. Moreover, lended are not the credits as such, but reserved funds. In general on the financial markets, especially in America, there is an amazing amount of unlikely choices, including the foreign debts of the former USSR which are sold by Western creditors very cheaply. Banks having excess reserves may even sell them off, and the FRSs backs up these sales with advance-money from the "discount window."

Candide was right

Why does the fluctation of the rates of these loans cause a shake up of the economy?

They are important in the sense that they signal changes in the monetary policy of the FRS, explained Bakstansky. Recently we clearly demonstrated that we want to make money more accessible. Therefore simultaneously there was an increase in the reserves and the overall credit and monetary mass of commercial institutions due to the purchase of government securities by the Federal Reserve System.

The mechanism worked out in America is unique, effective and seems perfected to the utmost. Alas, if we paraphrase Voltaire's *Candide,* there's nothing ideally perfect in this far from perfect of worlds. When Boris Yeltsin met with the government and private financiers at the New York Federal Bank in June, they warned him: "We've been perfecting our banking system more than a century and a half, but it is far from ideal." And in August there was one of the worst scandals in its history.

When we met with Peter Bakstansky the first time in the beginning of June he spoke with enthusiasm about the experienced and competent dealers with whom the Federal Bank of New York dealt: "There's never any problem quickly selling or buying government securities for a large sum."

This is how it's done. After the Federal Open Market Committee decides to buy or sell federal securities, the clerks in the trading hall on the 3th floor of the house on Liberty Street take over. They call the dealers and inform them about the opportunity. In a few minutes the computers are spreading the news all over the country and almost to all the financially civilized world. In less than half an hour the dealers give the offers on behalf of their clients – how many government securities and at what price they are ready to buy or sell them. The staff of the New York Reserve Bank pick the most advantageous offers. The deal is concluded.

A small, in American eyes, circle of primary dealer firms – about 40 in all – take part in these operations. In order to maintain competition and be able to sell the government bonds as high as possible and buy as cheaply as possible, the FRS established the rule that no one company has the right to trade in more than a third of the securities.

When we met again recently Bakstansky was somewhat embarrassed: it turned out that some of the dealers were too smart. The matter was made worse by the fact that the biggest dealer of government securities, Salomon Brothers, was involved in the machinations. Acting on behalf of the clients without their permission or through straw figures, the dealers of this company managed at several auctions to grab the greatest portion of trade and dictate the prices. Each of them earned several million dollars a year. But the time-worn truth that appetite come with eating was confirmed again.

FRS and especially its New York bank were doubly deceived: both as the traders and the controllers. After all, the Central Bank has one more important function – to see that the credit and monetary institutions of the country operate within the framework of the law, or, in other words, without machinations. And here the watchdog itself was duped.

A curious situation, but what counts is something else: the evil has been punished. The prestige of Salomon fell, the clients have dropped the firm, and a suit has been brought against it. At present the billionaire Warren Baffet is trying to save it from bankruptcy. The former heads and top brokers involved in the machinations have been fired without the millions of severance paid due to them and without the right to have their lawyers paid by the company which will cost millions of dollars. Four congressional committees have begun investigating the matter in order to tighten up the rules for trading government obligations and widen the circle of brokers firms. Even the Department of Finance of the USA is looking into the matter.

NEW YORK

(To be continued)

Blacks and Whites in South Africa: carving a different future for their country

The country that is resolutely getting rid of the totalitarian system, apartheid and racism, is faced with a host of problems. The main problem, though, is how to forge a concord between various nations and nationalities living in the country which used to be torn apart by racial, religious, tribal and other prejudice.

It sometimes seems that the main watershed is the colour of one's skin which divided all South Africans into Blacks, Whites and Coloureds. However, the Black community is also divided on the tribal principle: there are tribes of Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele, Suto...

The White community is not homogenious either: it includes people whose ancestors came to South Africa from Britain, Holland, France and Germany bringing their own cultures, languages and traditions. The Asians are even more heterogenious: Malaisians and Hindus can hardly be seen as people belonging to related ethnic groups. Population proportions vary, too. The Europeans make up one fifth of the population, while the rest of it is composed of Blacks and Coloureds. The dominant ethnic group is the Bantu – the native population of South Africa.

There was time when South African leaders believed that the internal conflict could be resolved through the setting up of independent states, i.e., through turning South Africa into a confederation of free territories.

The prevalent opinion at that time was that all problems facing the country could be solved immediately if the bantustans were given independence. However, very soon the situation returned to what it previously was. Even a cursory analysis showed that no success was possible in that way. The gap between economic development of various regions was too wide and it would have been too harmful to destroy the already existing economic ties.

Another solution presented itself: if it was impossible to solve the problems by setting up individual states and governments, then the happier option would be to agree to single citizenship, equal opportunities, respect for the interests of all strata of the population. Moreover, it was necessary to ensure that the new democratic system helped consolidate, not destroy, the state.

In addition, the resolute reforms under way in South Africa and consistent steps towards demolition of apartheid suggest that Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei, three of the ten bantustans which declared independence from South Africa in the late 1970s, as well as other territories could in the future choose to join the commonwealth of free nations of South Africa. When they declared independence, they first of all tried to escape apartheid, the draconian laws and brutal exploitation. Members of legislatures in bantustans were appointed from among tribal chiefs or people from their entourage. This was an attempt to preserve traditions and the existing system of administration.

Now that the apartheid system is crumbling, the very idea of dividing South Africa into independent territories seems outdated.

Looking into a more remote future, one can even suppose that with time the integration process in the south of Africa may also attract Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and other countries which have strong economic ties with their powerful neighbour.

In this connection, I would like to recall the Livingstone meeting between President Frederik de Klerk of South Africa and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia which took place over two years ago and at which I had the honour to be present.

At that time Frederik de Klerk was not yet President, he had just come to chair the ruling Nationalist Party but he was already talking about the necessity of rejecting the confrontation between South Africa and the six African nations known as the front-line states because of their proximity to bellicose South Africa.

It was at that meeting that the idea was first voiced to establish under the South African aegis a regional commonwealth of nations which could occupy a prominent place in the international community thanks to its tremendous material and human resources.

Speaking at that meeting, de Klerk said: "We are South Africans," embracing by that name all nations living to south of the equator. The press immediately interpreted the de Klerk words as a proposal to set up an African EC. This plan seemed utopian then, because the root of all evil, the apartheid system in South Africa, was still there. Now that South Africa has abolished over one hundred discriminatory laws and the leading world powers have recognized the reforms in South Africa as irreversible, it is becoming evident that the time of utopias is running out.

A statistical survey has been published in South Africa on last year's trade turnover with neighbouring countries. South Africa's trade with other African countries grew by 40 percent amounting to $ 2.1 billion. Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are the most active from the front-line states which are stepping up the trade and economic cooperation with South Africa. According to the local press, up to 500,000 South African businessmen annually visit Zimbabwe and more than 100 South African companies are operating in the country. The number of South African companies operating in Mozambique has reached 60.

What kind of a front line is that when the news coming from it is the news of new contracts and profitable deals, not casualties?

Thus, the reforms in South Africa spearheaded at the establishment of a non-racist society may also result in the formation of a new commonwealth of nations projected into the future.

Nikolai Reshetnyak,
our own correspondent
PRETORIA

Get rich

but don't forget about your soul

As times change so do cities and their residents. I have always been aware of the truth but never expected to witness its proof myself.

Warsaw has traditionally been a homey and snug city, pleasant and easy to live in, like a well lived in apartment. It is very much like my native city of Kiev with its splendour of exuberant chestnut and lime trees, quiet greenery of riverside gardens, and gentle charm of winding by-streets. The Polish capital used to be famous for its theatres and cabarets, refined art exhibitions, merry restaurants and tiny cafes perfect for leisurely conversations, and particularly for its exclusive small cinemas, studios, clubs for "cine-gourments", and cafes with a choice of international press.

Warsaw managed to retain its reputation even through century long Russian imperial presence and years of German occupation – and even the unique socialist reality of total shortages and consequent queues of consumers. However, now, when the nation has awakened from that nightmare, the image of Warsaw has begun to change. There still are theatres, but their number is rapidly dwindling (almost 50 percent in the last two years). There are new art exhibitions from time to time, but they no longer draw crowds. There are still many cafes and restaurants, but prices are prohibitive. The situation of Warsaw's cabarets seems to be tough: the President himself couldn't help Jan Pietrzak, the most popular cabaret performer, find premises in the capital. It really pains me to think about the present fate of the Polish cinema which in postwar years brought Polish culture international fame comparable in scope only with that of the Italian neorealist cinema: the Polish cinema is vanishing as a cultural phenomenon. Twenty-one films were made in 1990, and so far only five have been made this year (what's more, they are but rarely run in the capital's normally half-empty cinemas which, incidentally are also dwindling: 130 cinemas were closed down throughout the country this year alone). I no longer hear about the famous cinema clubs. If you delve deeper into the grim statistical reports, you will discover the government's resolution to economize on the sciences as well, by way of reducing financial allocation for the development of the sciences by one third of its current level, which is supposed to help patch up the state budget deficit.

The accent in social life has shifted onto the sphere of business: everyone seems to be involved in commercial operations which are conducted with gusto, sweep, daring, and devilish ingenuity. The change in the nature of the city which was not possibly introduced either by foreign occupation or the hapless experimental social order (Poles never believed that socialism could fit their country's conditions and revealed that in private conversations) came about in the wake of the sweeping epidemics of purchase and sale, caused by a bug of commercialism, turning the homey city into a huge market place and a two-way transition point in trade between the East and the West.

The impression is that the trading activity has engulfed the whole of Warsaw, complete with its streets, squares, and even the pride of the postwar builders – a stadium which was the venue of the central functions of the 1954 World Youth and Students Festival, amidst the still largely unrestored city severely battered by the war. You can see merchandise from all over the world here, but always the cheapest and thus of inferior quality, brought here from flea markets and clearing sales

Quiet streets of Warsaw are turning into noisy markets

Soviets as "travelling merchants"

in Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Istambul, Beijing, and Singapore. However, the prices are astoundingly high: the vending merchants are after quick profit. Their ambition is to quit voyaging abroad and back with sacks of merchandise and settle down to run their own shop under a neon sign and behind crystal shining exhibition-cases. They all look up to Marek Mikuszkiewicz, for example, who started as a street vendor of *pyzy* (hot cakes), continued as a travelling salesman and owner of Warsaw's first private restaurant. Now he owns a chain of five posh shops in the Polish capital and a number of wholesale stores around the country. His company Marc-Pol is known also beyond Poland. Marek Mikuszkiewicz is still in his 30s but already among the nation's ten wealthiest people. You can hear more stories of financial success in modern Poland.

We Soviets largely contribute to this trading boom in neighbouring Poland, as I repeatedly wrote. Our fellow countrymen export from our poor country whatever they can: from vodka and caviar to screw drivers and underwear. In Warsaw, you can buy a camera, a motor saw, sets of tools, socks, sausage — anything — right on the sidewalk. The offer of commodities brought here from across the Soviet border is promptly changing to suit the demand. The most coveted commodities today are non-ferrous metals: copper ingots, nickel, chromium, etc. The source of that remains a mystery both for ordinary citizens of our country in distress and for the special Polish and Soviet customs services. As for the Polish side, there is a certain nuance: Soviet private exporters and vendors have proved useful to fill certain gaps on the Polish market, thanks to the low price for their merchandise, rather than its quality and choice. Their customers are poor Poles who can't afford to pay higher prices charged in regular shops and who therefore make willing buyers and maintain a steady market for this kind of merchandise. That is why the competitors made room for the newcomers without much resistance and vacated, for the sake of the latter, the uppermost tier of the stadium I mentioned earlier, which is currently known "the Russian market," the chief trading area.

Good purchase

Advantages and disadvantages can be found in any social phenomenon, in this one as well: it eliminated shortages and queues. Now people begin to believe that it cannot be otherwise. Not all people share this belief, though. But which is better: outraged crowds desperately search ing for something to buy, with shops empty and only shadow economy operators and money changers, or affluence acting as a spur for adequately remunerated industriousness? Even in a marginal situation, which is better: a Soviet old woman with a meagre pension hunting, day in and day out, for the essentials or her peer in Poland who is able to buy a small bit of some dainty food abundantly offered on sale everywhere in the country?

Economy comprises and permeates the entire social structure. If the social organism of a nation is sound and healthy, the economy doesn't manifest its presence in any noticeable way. It is like breathing which is easy and natural, but not quite so in the case of asthma. Now at the time of postcommunist reconstruction of society, the ailing economy is really hurting. The Polish experiment has proved to be cruel treatment in its actual implementation. I doubt if there any sensible alternatives to that treatment.

Uncompromising resoluteness of the implementation of Balcerowicz's plan virtually changed the country within a couple of months. The key components of the plan are: deregulation of prices (bringing about competition among producers as well as revealing the real economic effectiveness of enterprises), introduction of internal convertibility of national currency (resulting in wiping out the black market), overall recognition of private property (bringing out genuine husbandry instincts of true owners and masters), and benevolent acceptance of business entrepreneurship and free commerce (which constitute the basis of market-economy relations). Importantly, the blows at the structures and mechanisms of the former socialist economy were delivered simultaneously. That ensured the desired effect, with all its advantages and disadvantages.

What's the purport of my notes about Warsaw as I saw it this late autumn and the implication of my discourse here? In a nutshell, my point is this: we must learn from the Polish experience of trail-blazing. We must show due resoluteness, keep the commitments we claim and be as good as our word. On the other hand, promoting the inevitable market-oriented reform which often yields unforeseeable results, we mustn't overlook something equally important, namely, culture, sciences, and schooling which are key elements in the education of the nation in the spirit of commitment to moral values. In practical terms, loyalty to the "socialist idea" must imply commitment to the moral imperative which boils down to a simple principle: get rich, but don't forget about your soul.

Rudolf Borecki,
our own correspondent
WARSAW

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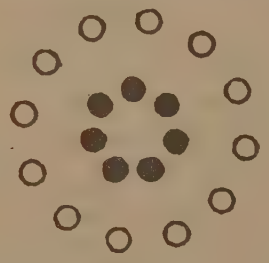

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"Do not take medicines!"

The story of an idea which its supporters regard as a discovery, and its opponents, as a fraud

"Something entirely new, *Dianetics*, is coming," an American magazine wrote early in 1950. "This is a new science which will smash our traditional notions of human intelligence. It will mean to us what the discovery and use of fire meant to primitive man."

A blessing in disguise

Although it did not revolutionize human life like the discovery of fire did, the book that came out a few months later was a tremendous success. Fourteen million copies have been sold since then, the publishers keep bringing out new editions, and the book is still selling like hot cakes.

The book bore the obscure title of *Dianetics*, the meaning of which was defined in the sub-title as *The Science of Mental Health*. Its author, L. Ron Hubbard, (see *New Times* No. 47, 1991), had always tried to teach people to overcome barriers on their path to success in life.

During the war he saw action in the Pacific as the captain of a submarine chaser. Wounded at the very end of the war, he was admitted to a hospital. A life wire who detested idleness, Hubbard used the time he spent in the hospital to carry on the research into the mystery of the human brain which had intrigued him since his college years. The hospital was full of wounded and shell-shocked officers who had suffered from amnesia and psychic disorders. Clad in a doctor's smock, Hubbard spent hours at their bedsides trying to help them retrieve their mental faculties. He became convinced that most diseases were of a psychosomatic nature, i.e. caused by shocks, and therefore responded to non-drug therapy.

At the beginning of 1946, Hubbard was demobbed. He left the hospital eager to carry on his experiments. The money came from fiction books which he turned out at an incredibly rapid rate. While at it, he continued treating his numerous friends. Hollywood actors, script-writers, producers – nervous, harried, needing consolation and help – poured into the office he had opened in Los Angeles. Hubbard spent a year in Georgia's hospitals and psychiatric clinics. After that he locked himself up and wrote his *Dianetics* which found a vast and enthusiastic readership in America. Those who believed in the Hubbard method started treating one another, and many of those who completed a course of treatment claimed they had gotten rid of their ailments. Hubbard colleges and Hubbard associatons were set up.

Well, what did L. Ron Hubbard offer his followers?

If the devil exists...

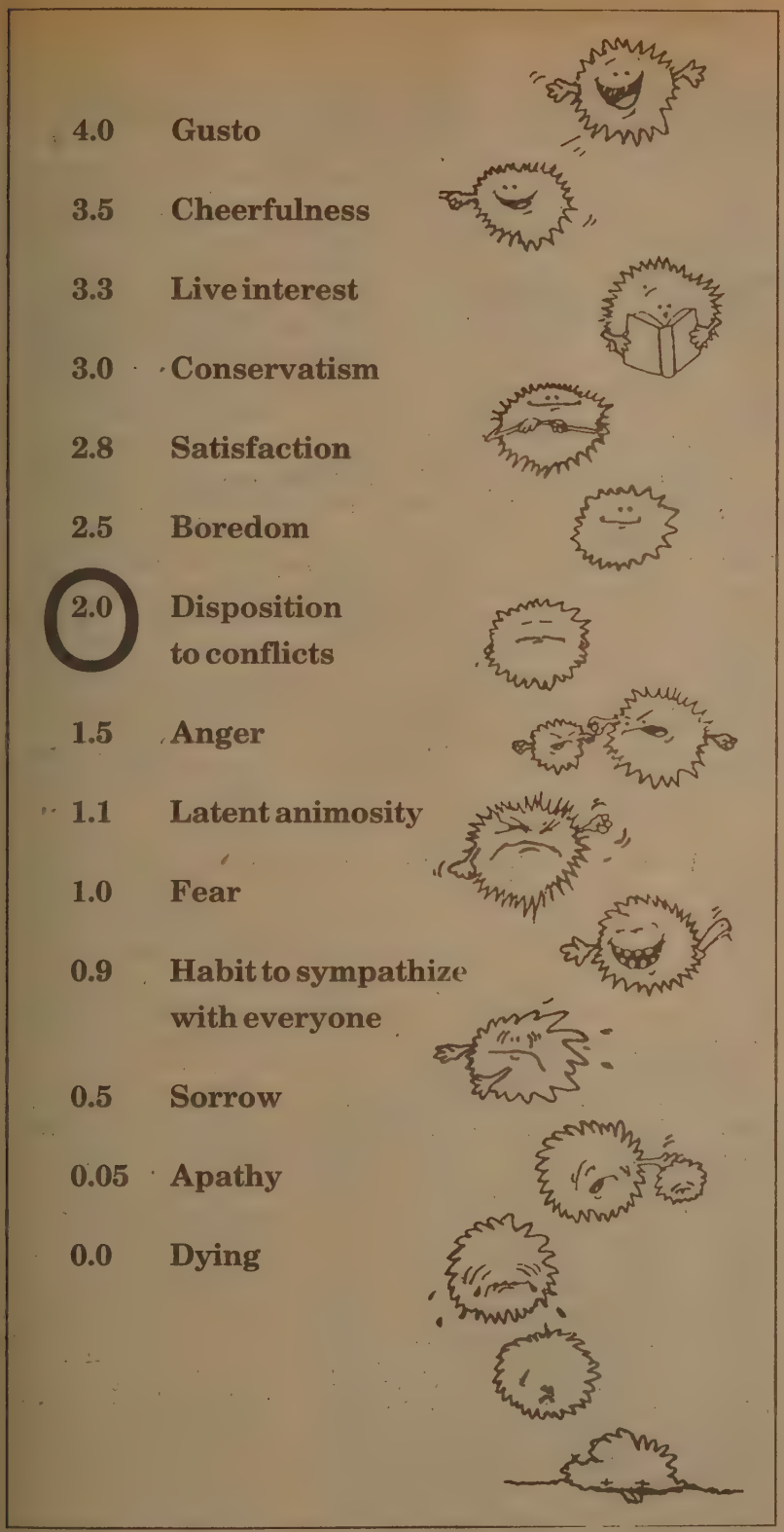
Hubbard arrived at the conclusion that man possesses an analytical mind and a reactive mind. The former – the brain – is often likened to an ideal computer.

But what is a reactive mind? "If the devil does exist, after all, it is he who has created the reactive mind," Hubbard wrote. The reactive mind upsets the operation of the brain and causes what are known as mental disorders: psychoses, neuroses, depression and a lot of psychosomatic diseases which are so difficult to cope with even using the whole arsenal of modern pharmacology: arthritis, asthma, allergy, hypertension, blood vessel spasms and many other troubles right up to stomach disorders and common colds.

The only way to get rid of all these diseases is to empty the reactive mind's data bank, to turn it off, in which case a schizophrenic will come back to reality, a depressive will cheer up, an asthmatic will be able to walk in the blossoming fields, a stomach case, to eat what he likes; mothers will stop yelling at their children, and alcoholics will drink on festive occasions only.

How is this to be achieved?

The analytical mind, Hubbard explains, builds up, like a computer, an enormous data bank throughout a man's lifetime.



As a manual for managers L. Ron Hubbard has elaborated the methods of assessing an emotional state of workers. He proposed to immediately get rid of those who gain two points and less according to this scale: such people are able to saw dissension in any work collective body

Every second of his life finds its reflection in brain cells. A thorough investigator, Hubbard asserts, will find in this unique collection of data strange blanks as if nothing were recorded in the brain's memory at certain moments or hours. These blanks, Hubbard explains, occur when a man is unconscious owing to the action of anaesthetization, drugs, or as a result of an injury, shock, etc.

The analytical mind keeps no memories of that. Instead, the reactive mind "remembers" physical and mental agony.

The "memories" of pain and suffering, which enter the brain in periods of unconsciousness, remain not as information absorbed and assimilated by the analytical mind, but as three-dimensional pictures which Hubbard calls engrams.

We suffered even before we were born

As we all know, negative experience is also useful: we learn from our mistakes. The engrams, however, are not experience which we can draw upon in a new situation; they are instructions given independently of one's will.

Hubbard gave the following example. A woman was once knocked down by a car. Her reactive mind recorded a picture containing the noise of the car engine, the thud of her own fall, the taste of blood on her lips, and a multitude of other minor details. Many years later, this woman trips over a stool in her kitchen, loses her balance, falls and bites her lip. At that time, a car passes by her house, at which moment the reactive mind turns the analytical mind off and comes into play. The picture of the past and long-forgotten accident instantly – without an apparent cause – turns the woman into the half-dead body she was many years ago after being knocked down by the car. She is rushed to a hospital again, and doctors treat her for numerous diseases without suc-

cess, wondering why not a single medicine has any effect.

Medicines are of no use in such cases, Hubbard claims, when a patient can be saved only using his method of purging the brain from engrams.

Far from all of us, however, have seen combat action, been knocked down by cars, taken drugs or been pain-shocked into unconsciousness. Does that mean that those who have had no such experiences are free from the ruinous action of the reactive mind?

Not at all, Hubbard says, because they might have experienced something awful back in the prenatal period, i.e. before their birth. Experiments with 270 patients have revealed, he says, that engrams start forming during the embryonic stage.

At first, Hubbard writes, experiments involving the use of hypnosis and sodium pentonal – a drug penetrating deep into the brain – made it possible to reveal the engrams of a newly-born baby. A doctor tried to apply a liquid medicine to the baby's eyes using a dropper, which only caused the baby to suffer. As a result of incompetent handling at birth, the baby developed conjunctivitis, inflammation of adventive sinuses and even asthma.

The first engrams are formed in the brain of an embryo. An expectant mother hits a table, and her unborn baby gets struck on its head. The mother bends over, and the baby gets squeezed. The mother goes into hysterics, and the baby gets an engram. The father demands that his pregnant wife should perform her matrimonial duty, and the baby finds itself in a vibrating washing machine. The father hits the mother, and the baby gets an engram. All these engrams later cause neuroses, mental and psychosomatic diseases.

The purging rite

Hubbard was also certain than any unsuccessful attempt at an abortion leaves behind an engram which, in time, makes a child seriously ill, causing mental disorders for the most part.

The brain therapy suggested by Hubbard resembles psychotherapy. No narcotics, no hypnosis – just long talks with a patient in need of being purged from engrams. The Hubbard enthusiasts claim a success rate of 100 per cent, while Freudists content themselves with more modest results.

The doctors who have mastered the Hubbard method try to help their patients find the engrams – to recall the episodes which have caused them physical or moral suffering and to obliterate them from their reactive mind. This method does not consist in compelling a hypnotized patient to forget something unpleasant, to get rid of painful memories. There exist no memories as such. What does exist is a dangerous mechanism which comes on under certain circumstances and makes a person ill. This mechanism has to be turned off. The thud of a falling chair, the noise made by a passing car, and the taste of blood on the lips should no longer cause a woman, once knocked down by a car, to relapse into agony.

Hubbard did not like words like "instructor," "psychotherapist" – he called those who used his method "auditors."

The auditor's function is not to hypnotize a patient but to help him, to cheer him up, and to travel with him in his forgotten past.

Dianetics is being translated into Russian, and will come out here soon. Hubbard courses and seminars are common in America.

Have you been taking drugs?

Hubbard applied his idea to the vital sphere of combatting drug addiction. His point of departure was that even after an addict has gone off drugs, a large amount of narcotic stuff remains in his organism, and may cause serious health problems later.

This means not only narcotics. Hubbard strongly objected to the avid consumption of all sorts of chemicals because food preservatives, pesticides, tranquilizers, painkillers and other medicinal preparations, are retained by organic tissues for years. The accumulation of these harmful biochemicals may completely disrupt the biochemical and water balance in the human system."

Hubbard adapted his purification programme to the treatment of drug addicts, the idea being to purge the organism from residual drugs first, and then to try and bring former addicts back to active life. The purging process consists not only in talks with auditors, but is supplemented with special diet, a set of physical exercises, specially selected vitamins and hours in a steam bath. A network of drug-addict rehabilitation centres, called Narconon, functions in 11 countries. It uses the Hubbard method. I interviewed a former Narconon patient who is now trying to help drug addicts pull out. He assured me that he succeeded in three cases out of four.

Some over-impressionable people may come to regard Hubbard's *Dianetics* as the acme of reason and to worship new idols, although many scientists consider his ideas absurd. However, if anyone succeeds in getting rid of his ailments, fears or addictions thanks to the Hubbard method, then it certainly merits praise.

L. Ron Hubbard was a real American. When he came up against obstacles or problems which seemed insurmountable, he never gave up in despair but blazed new trails for himself and for others.

Leonid Mlechin

Irreconcilable remarks

on simple truths some people just don't understand

Sergei Kuznetsov

Half a year ago in Canada I happened to speak to an olive-skinned black-haired man who worked as an assistant at a small shop. He was an Afghan immigrant. I was careless enough to reveal where I was from. The Afghan narrowed his eyes and spat in my face.

I do not know how other people would have behaved in a situation like that, but I just wiped my face and went away – the insult was well-deserved. I am not blaming myself for 1968 when Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia – I was just a boy then. But why didn't I protest on Red Square in 1979 when the USSR invaded Afghanistan, an action which I was able to identify as outrage? Such heroics would not have been of any use, of course, and I would have been sent to prison, but the main reason I did not go was that I was afraid to go to prison in that cold Russian winter. Soviets continued to kill innocent people in a peaceful country for nine years after 1979.

We who saw the truth and did not raise a voice of protest share the guilt and it is up to us to admit that guilt. We were different then – some people not only kept silent, but personally participated in the massacre. The main criminals are the leaders who issued the initial orders. But behind them are those who volunteered enthusiastically to go to Afghanistan to kill. Our journalists also bear a heavy share of guilt.

It was only recently that I built barricades and spent nights defending the Russian parliament building side by side with young veterans of the Afghan war. At that time we had a common enemy, but even then I could not help but feel that those young men were defending the freedom they had fought against several years ago. Moreover, they defended freedom in continuation of their deeds in Afganistan, not out of repentance for what they had done.

I understand that boys of 18 who did not know anything about life and death were simply deceived. I also understand that one can hardly contain the thirst for revenge seeing one's friend being killed. However, these boys participated in the killing of innocent people, emphatically, innocent people, not soldiers. In other words, they are guilty of committing crimes against humanity. This is not moral but legal guilt: the court alone can condemn or pardon them.

Everything is confused in our attitude to the veterans of the Afghan war. Moscow Mayor Popov assists mothers who lost their sons in that war. Certainly, any mother whose son was killed deserves compassion. But why are we forgetting the Afghan mothers? The mothers of victims the number of whom is dozens of times as large as the number of the mothers of killers? Nobody bothers to think about that.

There are two main attitudes to the Afghan war. One attitude is that people cannot be held responsible for having carried out criminal orders. The other attitude is that the responsibility for the war crimes rests equally with all citizens of this nation. Let us recall a classic example, though: a guerilla fighter is being publicly executed by Gestapo men as the entire village stands watching. Are the Gestapo the only ones to blame? Is the guilt of the executioner equal to the guilt of passive on-lookers? Should the villagers have fought the Gestapo with bare fists and freed the guerilla? The guilt is not equal. No commandment says: Thou shall sacrifice thine life, but of the commandments says: Thou shall not kill. Those who kept silent must repent, those who killed must face trial.

Why did Soviet leaders shelter Stalin's executioners from justice for so many years? They wanted young investigators to feel safe and comfortable when they received the order to torture prisoners.

The fog around the CPSU members is even thicker than that shrouding the Afghan vets question. A recent *Pravda* article argued that after all everybody – from Yeltsin to Nina Andreyeva – had been in the CPSU. The message is that there was a great gap between the upper echelons of the Party leadership and its rank-and-file members whose only Party activity was to attend regular Party meetings. But there was no such gap. On the contrary, there was a smooth upward path – from members of local Party bureaus to full-time secretaries and apparatchiks of various district, city and regional committees. Those who had lower positions had smaller benefits, but everybody participated in the criminal activity and everybody enjoyed some perks.

Let us ask ourselves why a Soviet citizen desired to become a CPSU member so much. Did not people understand that by joining the CPSU they joined a criminal organization of terrorists, robbers and killers? Most CPSU members realized this, but they joined the Party nonetheless for the sake of perks and their career. Everybody knows it now and used to know it before. All the talk about "honest Communists" is ridiculous. The arguments of the most honest of them ("let there be more decent people in the Party," "we wanted to blow up the system from within") are no more serious. Even if they tried hard to avoid party work or used their position to help other people, their very membership supported the Party morally and materially.

Naturally, there is no need to put all CPSU members in the dock – after all they did not commit any crimes. One can't help laughing, however, seeing Communists raising hue and cry about a "witch hunt" after seven decades of ruining and disgracing the nation. Isn't it only just that people who discredited themselves by cooperating with Nazis are refused jobs in Germany?

What about the people who turned in their Party cards after 1985? On the one hand, better late than never and it is good that the Party will have fewer members. On the other hand, it is obvious that such people withdraw from the Party for the same reasons that they joined it – out of career considerations. And if need be, they will readily join the Party again.

Surely, some former Communsits have demonstrated admirable behaviour recently. Surely anyone has the right to change his views. But it is always repulsive when a dedicated atheist suddenly becomes an archbishop without living a day as an ordinary parishioner.

Drawing by Arkady Gursky

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

Her life was amazingly bright and tragic. Her restless and rebellious spirit led her through a number of hypostasies, the last of which was that of mother Maria, heroine of Frecnch Resistance, commonly known as Yelizaveta Skobtsova.

In her younger years she managed to demonstrate both rare poetic talent and unusual female charm (Alexander Block dedicated some verses to her)... She wrote in one of her own verses "How tight, how scarce are this world's dimensions..." Yes, the three-dimensional space of commonness was too tight for her. Maybe this was the reason she first found herself in poetry. Participation in social and political life (she was a member of the Social Revolutionary Party) was another dimension of her earthly existence. And, finally, its third dimension was her life in religion. She was the first female graduate of the St. Petersburg Divinity School (where she studied by correspondence.) And the tragic end of her earthly path was the transition to the "fourth dimension" which she herself called "the burning."

Yelizaveta Yurievna née Pilenko gained a reputation as a poet, going by her first husband's name (Kuzmin-Karavayev was a lawyer from St.Petersburg). When she divorced him she went to Anapa where she was elected assistant to the mayor of the city after the February 1917 revolution. It was there that she married Cossack officer Skobtsov. She emigrated from Russia in 1921. Before long the Russian emigre circles were acquainted with essayist and thinker Ye. Skobtsova. In 1932 she took the veil and was known as mother Maria from then on. During the war she sheltered the Resistance participants and saved the Jews from the Nazis. In 1943 she was arrested by the Gestapo and died in the Ravensbrück camp.

A film by director Sergei Kolosov (by whose courtesy *NT* reproduces her photograph of 1940) again reminded us of her destiny. The TV audience saw it shortly before the 100th anniversary of the film heroine's birthday who was born on December 8, 1891. (Incidentally, the film shot in the early 1980s also had a thorny destiny – its authors had to go through many trials and temptations in order to be able to familiarize their countrymen with the story of mother Maria.)

We will celebrate her 100th birthday by publishing fragments of her article which appeared in Paris-based *Sovremennye Zapiski* (Contemporary notes), No. 38, 1929. The purpose of the article is to reappraise the spiritual experience of Russian society's "progressive" and "conservative" elements.

Towards the sources

Yelizaveta Skobtsova (1891 – 1945)

Disputes about various degrees of progressiveness and conservatism of some social groupings are the salient feature of our time. A curious phenomen is often observed in these disputes – people belonging to one and the same grouping, depending on their personal psychic constitution, at one time assert themselves as progressives and stigmatize their opponents as hopeless conservatives and at another, on the contrary, deem progressivism a vice and proudly declare their conservatism. I think that the question of the right combination of progressivism and conservatism in any social grouping is that of its viability and effectiveness...

It was natural to note various social and political controversies of Russian history in the decades prior to the Russian revolution when the latter was only being prepared, when it was just accumulating strength. The entire process of Russian life was observed and studied in a horizontal plane of forces which simultaneously acted in it, the explosive power of certain pressing problems – discontent with supreme power, the agrarian question, the nationalities question, etc. – was examined. Everything was taken into account as future factors of revolution. Society was naturally placed under the badge of this stratification. One may affirm that this period was characterized by a certain Marxist psychological aura encircling even non-Marxist social movements. Marxism, which posed the question of controversial opposing interests of different classes in the most clear-cut manner and which generally tends to separate and to take into account centrifugal forces, made other trends give an account of their stance, so to speak. Populists were forced to deny the petty-bourgeois nature of the peasantry, liberals had to prove the progressive character of the bourgeoisie and its value as a fighter against monarchy, etc. Every social cell realized itself outside the social whole and tried to determine how far it should go together with revolution. The entire complex structure of Russian society was taken statically, separated from the dynamics of the entire historical process, and thus was determined its potential, capable of manifesting itself at the moment of revolution.

The war, the revolution, the civil war, famine, opposition of the entire nation to a handful of communist rulers, and, finally, the unprecedented nature of all that has befallen the people have completely changed the psychological atmosphere in which social forces will have to operate.

The entire Russian people as a whole turned out to be the object, as well as, to a large degree, the subject of these events. Class differences proved to be of secondary importance. Primary importance was accorded to the national and historical unity of the entire people... Common experience of the last decade united the people into one historical whole. It is necessary to introduce a certain degree of historicism in one's analysis in order to arrive at the right conclusion concerning all that has happened. The Russian nation's history is the only key to understanding the morrow, to the correct self-orientation of separate groups and classes representing the nation. The fact that all newly formed social trends – from "Eurasians" to Ustryalov's followers – base themselves on exclusive interest in

questions of Russian history must be qualified as at least a hightly demonstrative phenomenon, if not a proof of the correctness of this idea... Russian history is the whetstone on which to sharpen one's speculations, the barrier to be taken by all movements which want to survive.

The position of Russian populism is particularly curious in this respect. Although the largest organically national trend of Russian thought, for decades of its existence it did not care to provide a basis for its outlook on Russian historical process as a whole and find in it a place for itself as a tremendous and highly influential social force. Instead, it engaged exclusively in self-affirming, basing on its likeness to or difference from other political forces. It would have been especially easy for populism to justify itself historically, to feel itself the pivot of Russian historical process, to justify its existence not only as a representative of definite social interests, but also as a mouthpiece of the dominant tendency in Russian history.

It goes without saying that it was both unnecessary and impossible in the period of preparing for the revolution because the only thing that mattered was the explosive power of populism and the centrifugal forces contained therein. Now they have broken forth. A new period begins in which historical *organicity* of a particular movement and its *national creative potential* will be of principal importance.

The Russian words denoting "people" and "nation" are not, in all evidence, irreconcilably opposed to each other. They may be even rather synonimous, since until recently the Russian language endowed the word denoting "nation" with too little content, successfully replacing it with the word meaning "people." So much the greater is the gulf dividing their derivatives — "nationalism" and "populism."

This is not mere coincidence. This is a manifestation of prerevolutionary centrifugal forces which dissected everything and emphasized controversial, rather than similar, features in everything. In our country nationalism became an expression of the national and state idea of the right-wingers, while populism manifested the popular-social idea of the left. Nationalism recognized its ideal in a final consolidation of jingoist and imperialist interests of the nation, organized into the state whereas populism longed for a victory of social interests and attempted to protect the people's economic and civil rights. Nationalists, fostering the state idea, forgot about the people's very existence. Populists, affirming the people's interests, nearly forgot about the state into which the latter is organized. Such are the theoretical contradictions in the position of nationalists and populists.

It stands to reason that practical contradictions went still further. Nationalists preserved the existing statehood while populists tried to overthrow it by revolutionary means. Nationalists represented the oppressors and populists — oppressed.

The two main opposing forces of Russian history's prerevolutionary period proceeded, in fact, from very close linguistical notions but ended as extreme opposites...

Populist's absolute and decisive advantage is that they constantly turned to the subject of historical process — the people, that their aims included the task of satisfying this subject's interests, and that they never forget about the live spirit of creative popular elements. Essentially, everything else is only functionally dependent on the people as the subject of historical process and is nothing more than solidified manifestation of popular creativity. From the point of view of genuine populism, the classical definition of state as a combination of a people, a territory and power sins against the truth by an a priori confusion of different values and by emphasizing a value of secondary importance — the state. It would be more correct to recognize as the central notion the people who settles a definite territory and affirms a particular type of power thus creating a definite type of statehood. All these values are functions of the subject of historical process — the people. All of them have a meaning exclusively as its manifestations and are subject to an evaluation from the point of view of its creative psyche and its genuine interests.

Thus it follows that the basic mistake of populism is, to some extent, of a secondary nature — having correctly assessed the central notion of historical process — the people — populism underestimated the notions derived from it — statehood, state power and even the people's culture. The principal and unquestionable significance of populism lies in the priority of its positive stipulations and the secondary nature of its erroneous ideas.

> Nationalists and the bearers of imperial mentality in this country always emphasize statehood and forget about the people

Compared to it, the mistakes made by nationalism are of a much more fatal nature. All of them are of primary importance and therefore cannot be redeemed by correctness of derivative propositions. More than that, this correctness sometimes also leads to fatal results because they absolutely wrongly exaggerate the secondary values of the state and state power.

Populism has made one extremely serious mistake. It consists in the very volume of the notion of "people." Populism did not fully interpret this notion from the philosophical and metaphysical viewpoint; populism generally considered people as a totality of the working strata of a nation or even as the totality of all Russia's citizens living in a given epoch — an arithmetic sum of many millions of items. In fact, the situation is much more complicated. There can be no arithmetic sum-total of citizens.

The notion of "people," which grew from a whole complex of historical events and habits, particularities of day-to-day life transmitted through generations, and religious orientations forming mentality, cannot be limited to one generation. A particular historical generation is only a temporary representative of a people. Only understanding of its organic connection and its individual members' connection with the entire people, the perception of the people as a genuine subject, a genuine personality which has a certain creative potential and certain achievements reached in the past, can cover the notion of "people" and lead the populists from the dead end of accidental and temporary tasks.

...The reason for the mistakes made by populism can easily be found. It is rooted in the anti-historicity of the epoch in which populism developed. Populism was subject to the law of differentiation active in the whole of Russian life, it inevitably ignored features that unite forces and emphasized what separated these forces. The deficient prerevolutionary times which deviated from an organic and gradual development of historical forces provided for the deviation of populism from an organic development of concepts contained in it. Some of them fully uncovered themselves, others still remained in embryo. The principles of populism were regarded only in terms of their socio-political significance — this was the way the concepts of community and personality were interpreted, this

was the way the meaning of the principle of democracy was defined, and so on.

Yet practically never and nowhere was, on the one hand, the historical significance of these principles for the Russian people explained, nor, on the other, their philosophical and metaphysical contents disclosed. All concepts were interpreted in one dimension, they were not projected into other planes of life and thought. They were easier to formulate as concrete paragraphs of political programmes or slogans rather than as complete systems of Weltanschauung based on the popular psyche and popular historical practice.

In world historical process there are two examples of different concepts of the subjects of history.

The understanding of historical process as a *manifestation of the life of a people* found its fullest reflection in Judaism. The *Old Testament* is a history of a people which, in different periods of its existence, disposed of different territories or disposed of none, as during Egyptian or Babylonian captivity or subsequently during the Exodus. Nor does power created by the people have one and same nature at all times – first it was power of Patriarchs, later that of Judges, still later that of Kings, and so on. Judaism maintains that the only constant value, the only constant subject of history is the people. Its organic unity remains invariable during the entire historical time. It may be stated conventionally that in this regard the Jewish people perceives its history in a populist way.

> The most important thing is the historical unity of the entire people, of all its generations – past and future

But there is also another historical path relized in a no less brilliant way... The path of Rome. Here the centre and the main motive force of history is the *concept of state*. The latter is defined as the subject of historical process. Hence the definition of state – the central concept – arrived at through secondary notions: people, territory, power. It is absolutely natural historically, for the most constant value in Roman history was precisely the state. Within its framework not only the type of exercizing power was subject to change, but also the territory and even the people... Russia has gone through this peril more than once, and to the fullest. It's possible that this is exactly the reason why it was so difficult to determine the genuinely Russian organic components in Russian political thought...

If we want to find the forerunners of contemporary populism... we must, leaving aside the prerevolutionary period of Russian thought, turn to the period prior to it. In particular, it is necessary to turn to the views of early Slavophiles. And the first thing that will strike us as we investigate their speculations will be the fact that they in no way differentiated between the notions of "nation" and "people," national interests and people's interests, nationalism and populism. One can positively affirm that Slavophiles were both nationalists and populists at the same time. These notions, of course, are not applicable to them in quite the same sense they assumed in the subsequent epoch, yet basically they are rooted in Slavophilism. From their successors' point of view, Slavophiles were, in the opinion of nationalists, too inconsistent ideologists of state and were too permeated with anarchism, whereas for populists they were not sufficiently radical in social respects. It is possible that this lack of differentiation allowed them to ignore contradictions between nationalism and populism. On the other hand, it's quite probable that the more organic epoch in which they lived did not lay emphasis on this contradiction.

Some of their speculations have become obsolete and are of purely historical interest. However, there is also much in Slavophile philosophizing which is quite acceptable even today... Neither a hero nor a leader, a law-giver or a saint determines the destiny of the Russian people, but the very self-consciousness of the entire people that establishes itself on its historical path. The people is the true subject of history, while a hero, a leader, a law-giver or a Tsar is essentially no more than a state-administrative personification of one of the people's functions.

...An autocratic monarchy is only a "statehood of a stateless people," a kind of the singling-out of state functions from the general complex of popular functions and their fixation on the person of a Tsar. But alongside with a patriarchal Moscow Tsar who, so to speak, alleviated the hateful burden of statehood of the people, there must exist a Zemstvo Council – a mouthpiece of the will and mentality of the entire people's organism. Thus, here too, the principle of a chorus which is something greater than a sum-total of voices that make it, is adhered to...

I think that the problem of popular rule and that of the rights of human personality could have been solved along the lines of political slogans and programmes only in the prerevolutionary and directly in the revolutionary periods. Now both require deepening and taking root in the general meaning of Russian historical process and Russian popular mentality. In fact, when one considers later Russian thinkers' speculations contradicting ideas of Slavophiles the principal aspect of similarity is clearly observed: both parties gave priority to the Russian people as such as the subject of history. This common line can unite such opposing thinkers as Herzen and Solovyov, Dostoyevsky and revolutionary populists, Bakunin and Danilevsky, etc.

The independent theoretical Russian thought mainly followed this line. The 19th century's Russian thought to a great extent abandoned its Roman roots in defining the state and acquired national roots.

Nowadays, when this tremendous job has already been accomplished, especially surprising are the ideas of extreme nationalists who base all their theories on the primacy of the state and make it the central figure of historical process...

However, in spite of current ideas, I believe that maximalism of ideological and creative tasks alone can provide us with a way out of the postrevolutionary dead end, which allows me to confidently arrive at the following conclusions.

The Russian people has not yet fully realized, in the course of its historical existence, its national idea which could become the only principle determining its existence in the eternity...

It is necessary to furnish a historical basis for populists' ideas, restore our historical genealogy, accurately analyze all alien and all genuinely organic elements in Russian historical process, assimilate all original ideas of the prepopulist period of our history. ■

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Swiss scientist **Richard Ernst** learned that he had been awarded the Nobel prize for chemistry on board an airliner flying from Europe to New York where he was to receive another prize.

The 58-year-old Nobel Prize winner broke the "monopoly" of Americans who have been world leaders in the natural sciences over the last two decades.

The Nobel Prize Committee noted Ernst's outstanding contribution to the invention and improvement of the method of nuclear magnetic resonance spectroscopy. Penetration into the world of molecules with the help of this method enables scientists to determine their structure and obtain exhaustive information about the rate of chemical reactions.

What's the practical use of the method? It can be established, for instance, how a patient reacts to various medicines and to oxygen insufficiency.

Richard Ernst was born in the town of Winterthur in the north of Switzerland. At the age of 29 he was awarded a doctor's degree in physical chemistry and, later, he conducted research in California. Since 1968 Ernst has taught at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich.

Prof Ernst is the fifth Swiss scientist to win the Nobel Prize for chemistry.

A. Kun

* * *

Elena Skoropadskaya, daughter of the last hetman (headman) of the Ukraine Pavel Skoropadsky, recently paid first visit to the Soviet Union. Her father ruled for less than a year. "During this time," Elena said, "the Ukraine was closest to what is called a united independent state." Several countries, Switzerland included, recognized the Ukraine at the time. But a socialist revolution broke out in Germany in 1918, and Germans began to leave the Ukraine. The hetman understood that he would be unable to retain power himself.

"Denikin and the anti-Bolshevist Russian army were against the Ukraine's independence and opposed my father," Elena explained. "And this hastened the sad end."

Germans helped the Skoropadsky family to flee the Ukraine. After wandering for some time the family met in Switzerland, where Elena was born in July 1919. Later they moved to Berlin. In emigration Pavel Skoropadsky set up his organization and secretly maintained ties with the Ukraine. However, his hopes for the creation of an independent Ukrainian state were dashed after the Nazi invasion of the USSR. Unlike many other emigrants, the hetman was against collaboration with the Nazis and did not link freedom of the Ukraine with the German victory. Shortly before Soviet troops entered Berlin Pavel Skoropadsky decided to move to Bavaria. But on the way there he was mortally wounded in an air attack.

During his 26 years in emigration the hetman wrote his memoirs and his daughter translated them into German.

At present Elena Skoropadskaya lives in Switzerland. She has twin daughters, one of whom is a journalist.

* * *

Alexander Yurikov, 43, heads a new Soviet-American commercial radio station, Maximum. The idea of founding it appeared in *Moscow News*. Several American companies have supplied equipment, and broadcasting will begin this month.

High-class music recordings granted Radio

Thirty years of Russian truth

Leonid Latynin has finished a new book entitled *Russian Truth*. The 53-year-old writer admitted that he devoted 30 years of his life to it.

"I am surprised that neither the past nor the present events have speeded up or slowed down my work on this book," Latynin said. "The main characters of the book are Russian history and a Russian prophet writing the Russian gospel and variants of Russian Apocalypses."

In Latynin's opinion, his books *The Make-up Man and the Muse* and *The Man Sleeping during Harvest* were mistakenly called anti-utopian, a political satire.

Speaking about *The Man Sleeping during Harvest* Latynin noted that "it is not a fiction either," though the main character of the book, Medvedko, named Yemelya at baptism, can shift in time from the 10th-century to a 21st-century Moscow.

The Man Sleeping during Harvest has been published by the Paris-based *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought) and the *Moskovsky Zhurnal* (Moscow Journal). Though critics unanimously agree that "the book is complicated and ciphered beyond limit, whereas reasonable deciphering would be quite possible and appropriate," that its text resembles the Holy Writ, a chronicle or a prayer, the reading of it becomes ever more simple and terrible from day to day. Latynin's prophetic ability is confirmed.

The first thing Yemelya sees in 21st-century Moscow is a man standing near Patriarch's Ponds. He holds a scalpel and a black agate instrument with a white keyboard. It is a device to determine the blood composition with up to one percent accuracy. Each house in Moscow is inhabited by people with one and the same blood composition. "In Malaya Gruzinskaya Street," a guard explains to Yemelya, "the war is conducted between houses No. 6 and No. 7 inhabited by people with different blood compositions. The houses stand almost opposite each other, and therefore it is very convenient to fight." The same war is waged in Armenian Lane. "Strangers" are shot indiscriminately. It is real hunting, with scores awarded for every person killed. Each bullet bears the initials of snipers, submachine and machine gunners.

A crowd of nationalist fanatics stones Yemelya to death at the Lobnoye Mesto (place of execution) on Red Square in Moscow. But, Latynin says, the apocalyptic finale does not mean the end of history which moves like a spiral. True, *The Man Sleeping during Harvest* contains an anti-utopia, "The Stormy Finale of the Sluggish National War," describing the ruin of Moscow during a national war in the year 2017.

Latynin worked in the *Khudozhestvennaya Literatura* (belles-lettres) publishing house and in the magazine *Yunost* (Youth). During the last 15 years he has been a free-lancer, translating poets of Central Asian republics and writing prose and poetry on the money earned in this way.

Maximum by American colleagues will be relayed in the USW range 103.7. The new radio station is going to broadcast the maximum information about cultural and social life and commercial affairs. Yurikov is sceptical of the idea of long news summaries. "Ten minutes of news on the air is a disaster," he says.

In the morning hours a team of American journalsits will conduct a special information and entertainment programme for foreigners who for some reason or other "feel uncomfortable in big Moscow". Artyom Troitsky, a music critic, Boris Berman, a cinema critic, and Valery Semenovsky, a theatre critic and chief editor of the magazine *Moskovsky Nablyudatel* (Moscow Observer), each have their own programme.

"We want to have our own image," Alexander Yurikov says, "the image of a modern, ironic and knowledgeable man." A graduate of the faculty of journalism, Yurikov worked in the Novosti Press Agency, the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kultura* (Soviet Culture), and the magazine *Sovremennaya Dramaturgia* (Modern Drama).

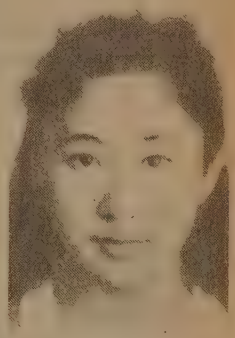
***

The famous! music school affiliated with the Moscow Conservatoire has marked its centenary. **Larisa Artynova,** Honoured Worker, is its fifth director. She has worked in the Conservatoire for 45 years, 30 years of them as head of the school, guarding and continuing its traditions. Among her graduates are hundreds of outstanding musicians, composers, conductors and singers. They are grateful to Artynova for the atmosphere of brotherhood she created in the school, for the successes of the Soviet Union's first student symphony orchestra, and for her care of the students.

Artynova succeeded in getting the old building of the school reconstructed. She personally supervised the building of a sports complex with a swimming-pool and trainers, and the installation of an organ in the school.

It is said that Artynova is strict in relation to girls, considering slacks and music incompatible. Though girl students have a different opinion, not one of them has been able to prove the opposite so far.

* * *



Ryoko Kikuchi, 27, is the first woman cosmonaut of Japan. She was a backup pilot last December, when her compatriot Toyohiro Akiyama worked with Soviet colleagues on the Mir orbital station. "On the day he went into space I even wept for joy," Ryoko said.

Kikuchi has several parachute jumps on her record. She has climbed more than one mountain and has written two books about space. During Gorbachev's official visit to Japan she was decorated by him with the Order of Friendship of Peoples.

The brave girl was born in Tokyo where she graduated from the institute of foreign languages. After the elimination test Ryoko was taken in by the TBS company where she began to work as a video-cameraman. In 1989, TBS announced a competition among its personnel for a possible Soviet-Japanese space flight. In this way Ryoko was included in the space team. She came to Zvezdny Gorodok (Star Town) near Moscow and took an intensive course in Russian.

At the end of September of this year Ryoko Kikuchi came to Moscow for the third time, but in a new capacity — as a correspondent for the TBS company.

Dolls for Alisa

Alisa Ponizovskaya, 25, plays dolls in earnest. She is an assistant artistic director at the association of animated films. Alisa began to work there right after finishing school in the capacity of an artist. My original job, she said, was to see to it that on each of the thousands of drawings the dolls have the same heads, legs and arms as in the first sequences.

Alisa took a fancy to dolls in her childhood. She presented friends and parents with princes and princesses she made herself. The father, an artist himself, did not encourage Alisa's passion. In any case, he thought that doll making was not an appropriate occupation for his daughter. Alisa's work in the association of animated films overshadowed her other occupations. However, in 1985 Alisa again returned to doll making.

"At first, I made dolls for various characters, inventing stories for myself," Alisa said, "but then I understood that, however sad it was, I had to part with my little world."

Alisa took a keen interest in the history of clothes and fashions. "Beautiful dolls in beautiful dresses" began to appear in her flat. If a doll was in a dress worn in 1875 it had to have a hat which was fashionable in the same year.

Though Alisa always wears jeans and a sweater, she is tired of wearing simple clothes. "I would like to wear a dress trimmed with lace and bows," she once said.

After Alisa made dresses for the characters of *The Elder Tree Mother* by Andersen and of Klein Zaches she began to produce costume dolls. "Nevertheless, I invent the character, profession and the past for every doll, for otherwise nothing comes out of my work," she says. "Here is a governess and here is a girl from the street who was 're-educated' by a kind millionaire, and became a decent dame."

Once Alisa sent two of her dolls to the Federal Republic of Germany and received an order from one of the German galleries. "In other countries they know our avante-guarde, jewellers, and so on, but there is very little information about our doll-makers," Alisa commented. She wants to form an association of doll-makers, but qualifies her desire: "I have in mind not those who make play dolls and can unite, say, round puppet theatres. Closer to my heart are dolls — portraits of ourselves, dolls who arouse emotions and reminiscences. I shall invite to my association those who want to make dolls for adults, dolls which would remind them of their childhood and stories told them in their childhood. In this case dolls will not be dull, businesslike and, in general, loathsome things."

Alisa is looking for a sponsor who would help her organize exhibitions and galleries of dolls. Those who wish can contact her through *New Times*.

If Russia needs a redeeming hero, it is in serious trouble

The Russians have a long record of suffering inflicted on them by the Tatars, the Khazars, the Poles, Lenin, Stalin, the KGB, the Party... Well, who's giving them trouble now?

Arkady Lvov

While in Moscow, I left my hotel every morning and took an escalator down to the Ploshchad Revolyutsii metro platform. Amazingly, the Moscow metro is as smoothly efficient as ever in spite of everything, which is not true of New York's subway. This might be an indication that changes for the better are still possible in this country. A nation capable of creating such an enormous metropolitan railway system and keeping it in perfect order certainly has hope.

On my way down to the platform, I watched the metro crowd. The station's interior is decorated with sculptures depicting heroes of the October Revolution. Passengers stop in front of them sometimes to take a closer look. Some even stroke their bronze weapons – revolvers, cartridge belts, hand grenades... Those statues remained where they were, and there still was a semblance of order: therefore, I reasoned, the "masses" have not yet succumbed to vandalism.

On the site of a burned-down house

Yeltsin is a barricade man. On those three days in August, he was on the crest of a wave, in his element. The people he had selected as his aides meet just one requirement – they are devoted to his ideas. No matter how loyal a person is, however, he should qualify professionally for civil service, for governing the whole nation or an individual republic.

Even in Russia, the services of specialists "inherited" from the tsarist regime were sought after the revolution. It was very clever of Leon Trotsky to enlist the cooperation of ex-officers who had served in the old army. The practice of using the right man in the right place is not common in today's Russia, hence no progress.

Amid stagnation, people are waiting for someone to come and help them. Russia is still waiting for a Messiah, as it always has, for salvation to come from somewhere, for a miracle. Even in the streets people are walking in an uncertain way as if they don't know which way to go. In shops, everything is perfectly clear. Shoppers behave like people do on the site of a burned-down house. One looks at the charred smouldering debris and says to oneself: "There was a sideboard there, a sofa here, a table in the middle..." And one cannot recover from the shock. Characteristically, after a man has lost his habitual world, his first feeling is amazement.

This feeling of amazement has dragged on for too long now. People still say: they won't let us, they interfere, they have entrenched themselves, they'll show us yet... The Communists are still strong, of course. They have stable connections established over decades. This does not mean that people should sit idly by and wait for the Communists to come out in the open and impose their will on the nation.

Incidentally, this messianic hope is of a biunial nature. On the one hand, people are waiting for someone to come and help them; on the other, they expect this someone to hurt them. They are extroverts. This has always been bad for Russia; in geopolitical terms, it resulted in continuous territorial expansion over the past few centuries.

All the smaller nations, or smaller civilization if you will, have proved incomparably more advanced, produced much more and created a man of an entirely different type, an introvert.

This is best evidenced by belles lettres. Living in America, I have developed an aversion for my own presence in my own books. What do I have to do with them? Why should I always appear in them? Things must tell their own stories... This is the direct opposite to what one finds in Russian literature. The Russian writer has always been a teacher, a tutor. One hears people quoting Chekhov saying that good breeding shows not in eating your soup without spilling it but in looking the other way when someone else spills his. Why should Chekhov be referred to in this context? In Russia, writers have always been looked upon as guides. However, a writer can give people guidance only in cases when they expect him to do so.

In Russia this guidance is readily accepted because people have been discouraged from relying in their own powers.

My father started setting up cooperatives in Odessa after the war. No sooner had he opened a cooperative than it was taken away from him. Then he opened another one, and still another, and so on, and so forth. I have never heard him complain once. He thought that was the only way of dealing with the powers-that-be. Since early in life, he inculcated in me the conviction that constant reliance on outside help is a sure way to moral degradation.

Alms for the dictatorship of the proletariat

There is a difference between help and charity. Today the Soviet people expect Japan, America and Europe to give them a helping hand. No one admits that this is disgraceful. That is, one can hear talk to that effect, but no action is taken to remedy the situation. Although aware of being humiliated by foreign aid, people are waiting for it all the same. As a result, this aid amounts to charity donations. And this is awful.

Thew same is true of social welfare in the United States. A round table on the plight of America's blacks was shown on television recently. It revealed that with some blacks non-working is a "tradition" going back three generations. Asked why he didn't work, an unemployed man living on welfare replied: "Why should I?" The answer came as a shock to me.

He really didn't see why. His parents hadn't worked, neither had his grandparents, so why should he work? His distorted psychology tells him that he has no duty to the state, rather the other way around. As a result 67.6 per cent of black men do not work. Forty per cent of them are illiterate. Asked why, they reply: "We've been slaves," although slavery was abolished 200 years ago.

Western aid to the USSR should be called by its proper name: charity. "Aid" is

something else – it is given to those who are doing something about their predicament.

Truth to tell, if someone asked whether this aid should be given us or not, I'd answer in the affirmative without a moment's hesitation. If no foreign aid is forthcoming, the people may go to an extreme. What if they revolt? At the same time I realize that the people may give way to despair and perish. This does not happen, however.

The Party is gone... What happens next?

Soviet democracy today is much like Soviet socialism. People who went through the three days of the putsch believed that it marked a turning-point. They forgot about the fact that the title of John Reed's book *Ten Days That Shook the World* should not be taken literally. Those ten days were followed by four years of the Civil War, chaos, poverty and famine. Can democracy prevail in three days? Can democracy be established by decree?

The Russians believe that their history is a long record of suffering inflicted on them by Germans, Jews, Lithuanians, Tatars, Khazars (incidentally, the latter were a people of high culture and extraordinary tolerance). As a result, there repeatedly emerged national heroes and redeemers, history-makers, so to say. Now all are waiting for a hero to come and save them...

It was not by chance that in the socialist period the word "creator" came to predominate in the political vocabulary. The Party was a creator, and so was the people. The idea of leader-worship, characteristic of any religion, underlay all Party work and all ideology. After the Communist Party had been renounced, it turned out that the people expect some other party to take over and solve all the problems. This is not only a symptom of spiritual decline but also that of energy paralysis.

Added to all this chaos, apathy and instability are nationalistic feelings which distract people from work. This year I've heard, for the first time, the phrase "Russian-Jewish domination" in Odessa. Previously people used to grumble – good-naturedly, though – about "Jewish domination."

Drawing by L. Kopelnitsky

Now they have decided to make Ukrainian the state language in the city. It hardly makes any difference to anyone that most Odessa residents do not speak it and that Russian has been spoken in Odessa over the past two centuries.

In New York today all records are kept in two languages – English and Spanish. No one makes a tragedy out of it. They introduced Spanish when it turned out that 62 per cent of New Yorkers speak only that language and understand no English. No one objects to this bilingual practice, regarding it as normal. When similar problems come up in the USSR, no compromises are reached. The Ukrainian radio now broadcasts in Ukrainian only. As to Moscow broadcasts, I haven't heard them. In a TV programme, two men talked in Russian. Suddenly, one of them remarked: "We have lapsed into Russian again. Isn't it disgraceful?" I still can't see why it was disgraceful to speak Russian.

I think that such hypertrophied nationalism can be cured only by common economic interests. I do not know how to create such interests, though. People feel suspended in midair, so to say, like cosmonauts on board a spaceship. Spacemen's movements in a state of weightlessness strike us TV-viewers on earth as strange, aimless, absurd, incongruous. They push off walls, never knowing in what direction they will drift next.

In spite of everything, most people are still hostile to the free market. Only three per cent want to start businesses of their own; 15 per cent are ready for the private enterprise system "in principle" (i.e. won't resist it), and the rest prefer to wait and see, as always.

People fail to realize that the free market is the supreme form of freedom. You take risks, you stake your life on a business venture, but you are free to do that. Most people here identify the market with profiteering and economic crime. However, the most heinous crime is already being committed: people have nothing to wear and nothing to eat, they live in chronic fear of worse things to come.

An entrepreneur naturally seeks to circumvent law and looks after his own interests. There are the law enforcement agencies to keep him in check. This standing conflict is a major factor in social progress. The Talmud contains interesting observations on non-obvious manifestations of good and evil. Illness, for instance, is evil, in principle. Nevertheless, great achievements may be connected with it. In the same way, the entrepreneurs who try to circumvent law in their business interests often give a powerful stimulus to progress.

If the class of small and middle entrepreneurs appears here, progress and genuine democracy will become possible. Most people still think that democracy came on the days when the barricades were set up. This is becoming a symbol: we have stopped the reactionaries, we have made sacrifices. This may be true, but the most important thing – a change of heart, a revolution in public attitudes – has not taken place. What really matters is not the withdrawal of the Party from the political scene, but whether its departure is followed by the urge to create something really new.

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Slot machine (made in Germany)	"	8	60,000.00	480,000.00	"	immediately	"	"
Diesel power plant EDS, 10 kWts with generator unit	"	1	27,000.00	27,000.00	Tyumen	immediately on payment	"	"
Cross-country vehicle	"	1	300,000.00	300,000.00	Moscow	"	"	"
Sony A-650 answering machine	"	19	12,000.00	228,000.00	"	"	"	"
Toyota Crown, European version	"	10	24,500$	245,000$	Japan	"	at buyer's expense	"
KRAZ 255 chassis	"	1	290,000.00	290,000.00	Nizhnevartovsk	"	buyer's delivery	"
Used Moskvich 2140 car (70,000 kms)	"	1	32,500.00	32,500.00	"	"	"	"
Fax machine MUGATEB	"	1	28,000.00	28,000.00	"	"	"	"
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Electric stove ELEKTRA 1001	"	10	3,000	30,000	"	"	"	"
Transformer DSSh 500 GOST 9577	"	4	4,600.00	18,400.00	"	"	"	cheque
Consumer air-conditioners	"	40	6,500	260,000.00	"	"	"	"
METALS								
Steel M-42-IMFA, Square 150	"	200	2,800	56,000	"	November	"	"
Sheet 8 mm ZSP No.8	"	148	3,200	473,600	"	10 days on payment	"	"
Cast-iron catalysis pipe 100 dl 2 meters	"	400	4,600	1,840,000	"	30 days onpayment	"	"
Smooth steel rings in bays d.16 mm	"	40	3,000	120,000	"	"	"	"
Pig tin d.150-100 mm, size 350-400 mm	ton	7	16,000	112,000	Nizhnevartovsk	"	"	"
Rolled wire in baus d 16 mm	"	50	2,000	100,000	Nizhnevartovsk	5 days onpayment	"	"
Pig zinc, one ton each	"	5	20,000	100,000	Tyumen	two weeks on payment	"	"
SHAPED TIMBER								
Full-length logs	m3	500	230	115,000	Nizhnevartovsk	two weeks on payment	buyer's delivery	advance payment 100%
Birch-tree mounts	"	150	250	37,500	"	"	"	"
Coniferous timber, d.14-24, 6 meters	"	1000	350	350,000	S.Pokachi	"	"	"
Cylinder logs d. 150 mm	"	35	750	26,250	"	"	"	collection
Third grade birch tree boards, 40 mm, 3 meters	"	35	200	7,000	"	"	"	"
BUILDING MATERIALS								
Concrete slabs (walls, basements FBS) 24.36 t	piece	200	150	30,000	Nizhnevartovsk	buyer's delivery	immediately on payment	advance payment 100%
Ferroconcrete support C 6x3	"	1,500	500	750,000	Nizhnevartovsk	"	"	"
Wall paper 10.4	rubie	35,000	22	770,000	"	"	"	"
Oil paint (floors)	kg	31,898	12	382,776	"	"	"	"
Nails 40–120 mm	ton	70	6,000	420,000	Donetsk Region	two months	seller's	"
Red brick M-123	piece	1,000,000	1–50	1,500,000	"	until 1.2.92	delivery	"
M-400 M-50k cement	ton	1,000	350	350,000	"	two months	"	"
MEDICAL EQUIPMENT AND MEDICINES								
Disposable syringe plus needle	piece	1,000,000	5,35	5,350,000	"	"	at buyer's expense	advance payment 50%
Ging-seng extract (bee honey) ampules, made in China	package	89,000	180	16,020,000	"	30 days on payment	"	"
MISCELLANEOUS GOODS								
Lot of land (Crimean Region, Chernomorsk)	0.01 hectare	8		250,000	Chernomorsk			"
Napoleon brandy (0,7 certif., made in France)	bottle	98,000	192	18,816,000	Nizhnevartovsk	1 month on payment	buyer's delivery	advance payment 100%
Stroitel helmets	piece	166	20	3,320	"	"	"	"
Powder mustard (in 50-kilo sacks)	kg	50,000	15	750,000	"	at seller's expense	"	"
Low-salt salmon	"	19,000	42	798,000	Nizhnevartovsk	immediately	buyer's delivery	advance payment 50%
Videocassette, made in Japan	piece	10,000	82	820,000	Donetsk	on payment at buyer's expense	2 months	advance payment 100%
Compact cassette, made in Japan	"	1,000,000	22	22,000,000	"	"	"	"
Broker's seat at the Tyumen Commodity and Stock Exchange	"	1	1,100,000	1,100,000	Nizhnevartovsk	"	"	"
Red caviar (in 140-gr cans)	can	4,200	70	294,000	"	"	"	cheque
Set of furniture (joint Finnish-Estonian product, Standard)	piece	5	15,000	75,000	"	"	"	"

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